PRICE $1.95

JUNE 6, 1986

Wm. F. Buckley Jr. Wants
MORE NUKES
—See page 62

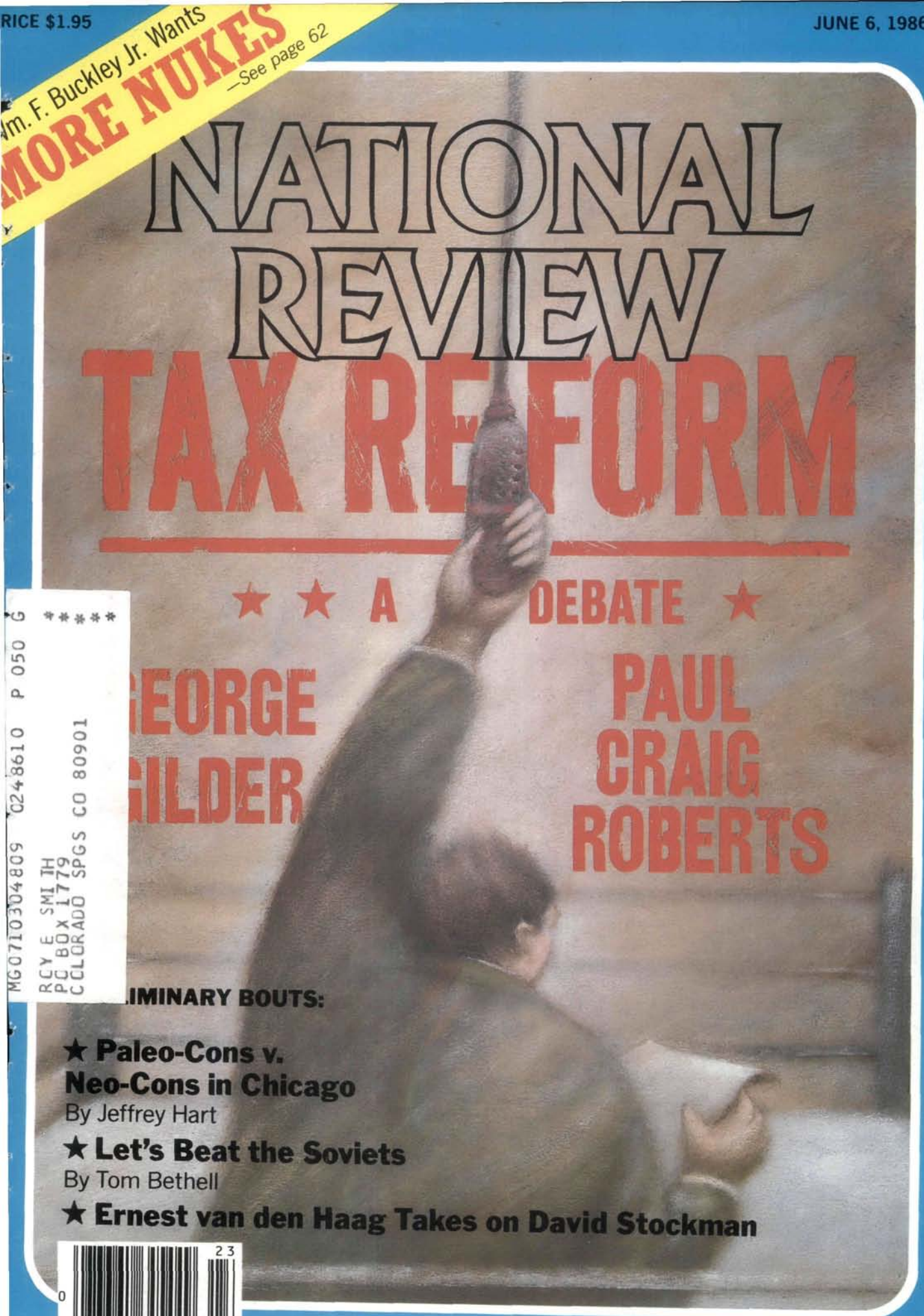
NATIONAL REVIEW

TAX REFORM

★ ★ A DEBATE ★

GEORGE GILDER

PAUL CRAIG ROBERTS



MG0710304809 C24861O P 050 G *****
ROY E SMITH
PO BOX 1779
COLORADO SPGS CO 80901

PRELIMINARY BOUTS:

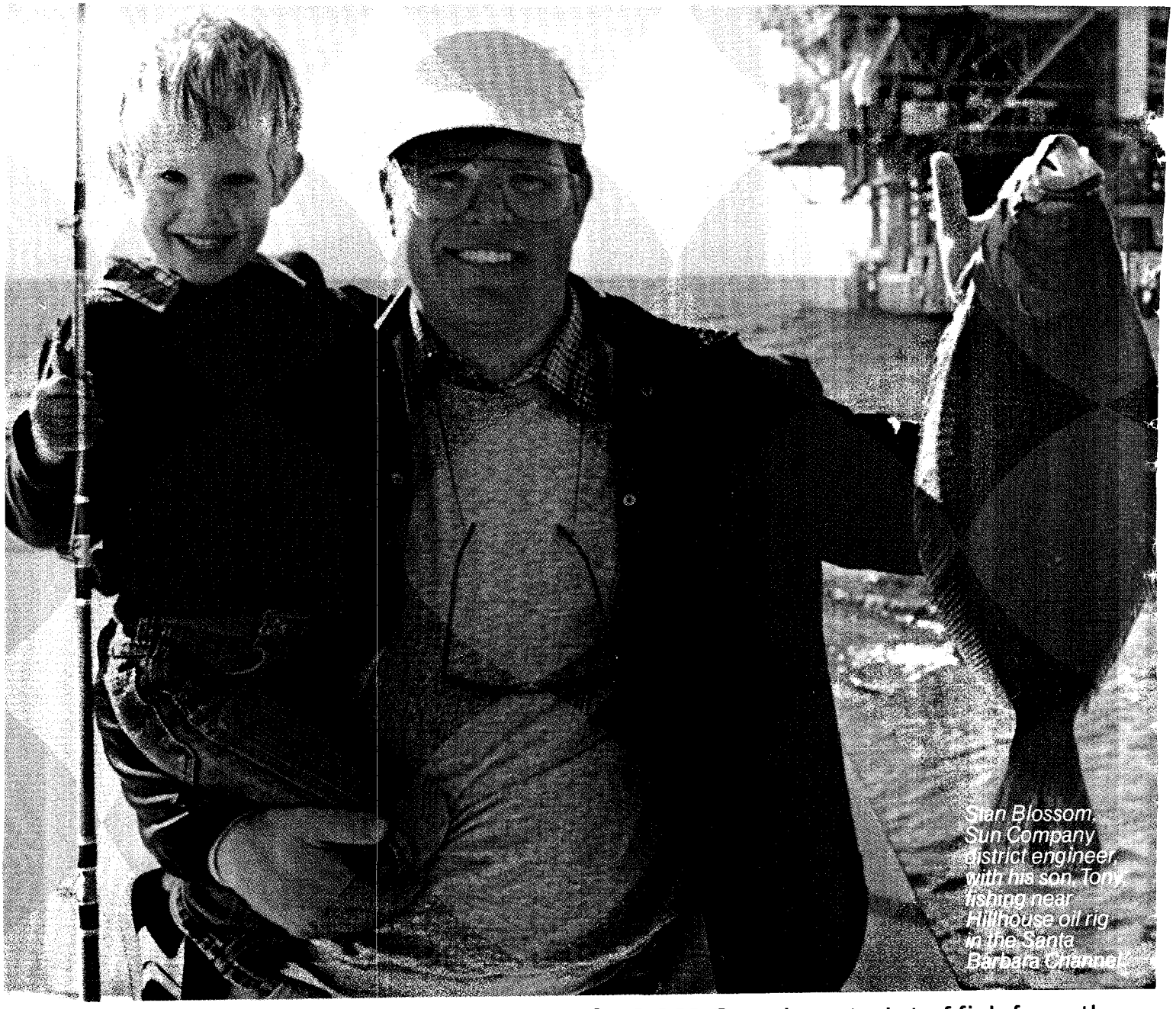
★ **Paleo-Cons v. Neo-Cons in Chicago**
By Jeffrey Hart

★ **Let's Beat the Soviets**
By Tom Bethell

★ **Ernest van den Haag Takes on David Stockman**

0 73361 64544 23

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Stan Blossom, Sun Company district engineer, with his son, Tony, fishing near Hillhouse oil rig in the Santa Barbara Channel.

SUN, OIL AND THE FISHERMAN'S SON. People get a lot of fish from the Santa Barbara Channel. And this is where Sun Company gets a lot of oil—more than three million barrels a year! Around here oil is our business. But Sun people like Stan Blossom can tell you it's not our only concern.

"I work for Sun, but I also fish in these waters. And I want my son's generation to fish here too. That's why precautions like our containment unit are so important. In case of a spill, it would quickly surround the oil and help prevent damage.

"This is just one of the ways we're helping to make sure there'll be many more years of fishing around here."

At Sun, we think putting energy back into the environment is as important as getting it out.

WHERE THERE'S SUN THERE'S ENERGY.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

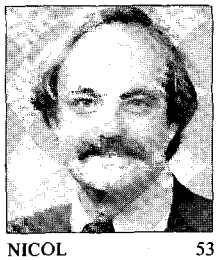
JUNE 6, 1986
VOL. XXXVIII, NO. 10

NATIONAL REVIEW

ROBERTS 40

GILDER 42

VAN DEN HAAG 50


NICOL 53

THE GREAT DEBATE

40 The Seduction of the Supply-Siders
Some supply-side enthusiasts seem willing to accept almost any new perversity in the tax code in exchange for lower rates. Current tax-reform proposals could do more harm than good. *Paul Craig Roberts*

42 A Triumph of Politics
Roberts and company want to preserve business tax breaks to lower the cost of capital investment. But investment doesn't drive the economy, people do. *George Gilder*

ARTICLES & COLUMNS

24 Watch Jesse Run
Jackson wants to run again. The Democrats can't afford him and dare not offend him. *John McLaughlin*

26 Moscow's Libyan Tool
Libya may not be a Soviet satellite, but if it were, would it act any differently? *Brian Crozier*

28 What's Wrong with Nuclear Superiority?
Technological superiority is the dividend of liberty; if the U.S. Government doesn't make use of our technological edge, the Kremlin certainly will. Let's go for it. *Tom Bethell*

32 Gang Warfare in Chicago
Old Believers meet neo-cons at the Philadelphia Society, and the gloves come off. *Jeffrey Hart*

39 Managua's Mexican Standoff
Managua plays the Mexican card. *Max Singer*

47 Two Curtain Calls
At Olof Palme's demise, we mourned; when Duvalier exited, we applauded. But the priggish technocrat and the playboy thug had lots in common. *Richard Brookhiser*

BOOKS ARTS & MANNERS

50 In *The Triumph of Politics*, David Stockman portrays himself as a naïve idealist betrayed by scheming politicos. All sham; Stockman was the betrayer, says **Ernest van den Haag**. . . . **Michael Fumento** finds that Christopher Dickey's *With the Contras: A Reporter in the Wilds of Nicaragua* is disappointing after the subtitle. . . . Russian novelist Vasily Grossman's *Life and Fate* is impressive, says **Charles Nicol**, but not quite equal to the media hype. . . . **D. Keith Mano** admires Robertson Davies's new novel, *What's Bred in the Bone*, which elegantly explores the relationship between art and the Zeitgeist. . . . **Joseph Sobran** recommends *The Salisbury Review*, the journal British liberals love to harass. . . . **Ralph de Toledano** spins some new Mozart discs. . . . Horton Foote comes closer than any other American to making good "small films." But, says **John Simon**, his two latest, *The Trip to Bountiful* and *On Valentine's Day*, sink into the morass of their own insignificance. . . . **Nika Hazelton** praises unhaughty cuisine.

4 LETTERS
12 FOR THE RECORD
14 THE WEEK
36 help!
48 FROM THE CONTINENT
49 ABROAD WITH WM. F. RICKENBACKER
58 THE RIGHT BOOKS
62 ON THE RIGHT
66 TRANS-O-GRAM

Cover design by K. Elliott
Cover art by Warren Gebert

NATIONAL REVIEW (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January, by National Review, Inc., at 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. and additional mailing offices. © National Review, Inc., 1986. Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editors, etc. to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc. to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile.

RATES: $34.00 a year (25 issues). Add $11.50 for Canada and other foreign subscriptions, per year. (All payments in U.S. currency.) The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage or, better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NR
NATIONAL REVIEW

William F. Buckley Jr. *Editor*
William A. Rusher *Publisher*
James P. McFadden
Consultant to the Editor

Editors
Priscilla L. Buckley / Jeffrey Hart
Joseph Sobran

Richard Brookhiser *Managing Editor*
Linda Bridges *Executive Editor*
Richard Vigilante *Article Editor*
Chilton Williamson Jr. *Book Editor*
John McLaughlin *Washington Editor*

Associate Publisher
Edward A. Capano

Contributing Editors
Tom Bethell / Brian Crozier
Werner J. Dannhauser / W. H. von Dreele
Nika Hazelton / D. Keith Mano
Michael Novak / Walter Olson
William F. Rickenbacker / John Simon
Ralph de Toledano
Ernest van den Haag / Timothy J. Wheeler

Associates
Catherine M. Shea
Jane Buckley Smith / Stephen C. Weeks

Frances Bronson *Executive Secretary*
Dorothy McCartney *Research Director*
John J. Virtes *Librarian*
Anna Lieber *Art Director*
Ione Whitlock *Production Editor*
Dorothy B. Humanitzki *Copy Editor*
Rose Flynn DeMaio *Treasurer*

Advertising Director
Robert F. Sennott Jr.

Circulation Manager
Sylvia Wolinsky

Contributors
Aram Bakshian Jr. / David Brudnoy
James Burnham / John Chamberlain
Mona Charen / Dinesh D'Souza
M. Stanton Evans / Mary Gauerke
George Gilder / Victor Gold
Donald Hall / Malcolm Hancock
Henry Hazlitt / Charles R. Kesler
John Kiley / James Jackson Kilpatrick
Nicholas King / Jan Lukas
Kevin Lynch / Forrest McDonald
Charles Burton Marshall / Thomas Molnar
Gerhart Niemeyer / Grover Rees III
Joseph A. Rehyansky / Alan Reynolds
Selden Rodman / Francis Russell
Michael A. Scully / Terry Teachout
S. L. Varnado / Charles Wallen Jr.

Foreign Contributors
Anthony Lejeune *London*
Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn *Munich*
Donald Coxe *Toronto*
Robert S. Strother *Cuernavaca*

LETTERS

From Bathhouse to Our House

It is unfortunate that the group suffering most from the AIDS epidemic has seen fit to make it a political issue ["The Politics of AIDS," by Joseph Sobran, May 23]. AIDS is first and foremost a matter of public health. It should be approached with the containment of the disease and the saving of lives as the highest priorities.

By politicizing a matter of public health, the "gay community" has deflected attention away from what should be the primary concern—preventing the spread of the illness—and focused it on the furtherance of its own partisan political goals. The main avenue of transmission of this disease is the almost pathological promiscuity of some sodomites and the filthy habits of irresponsible drug addicts (some 89 per cent of all AIDS sufferers are either homosexuals or intravenous drug users), but it is beginning to spread to other groups. We shouldn't have to protect such practices as "civil liberties" merely because of the epicene clamor of a vocal minority. It has gotten to the point where the "liberties" of some have begun to infringe on the rights of others.

Christopher Johnson
Hudson, N.Y.

Gulaged Archipelago

Our thanks—and the thanks of every group struggling against Indonesian neocolonialism—for your "Message to Suharto" ["The Week," May 9]. How right to condemn "Indonesia's bloody occupation of East Timor." And how right to point out that this has "registered little outrage in the world forum."

But you did not go far enough. The same observation should be made about the South Moluccas and West Irian. These areas of the Indonesian archipelago had been promised independence when the Netherlands gave up its colonial empire in the Netherlands East Indies following World War II. The South Moluccas, in fact, declared their independence and nationhood before there was an Indonesian nation.

Promises were broken. The ex-Dutch territories of the South Moluccas and West Irian (as well as the ex-Portuguese territory of East Timor) were conquered by the imperialistic forces of Java and forcibly incorporated into what is now Indonesia. Neocolonialism has been permitted to deny self-determination.

Albert P. Blaustein
Chairman and President
Human Rights Advocates International
New York, N.Y.

Porn, Again

Your editorial criticizing federal obscenity laws ["The Week," March 28] evidenced a limited understanding of obscenity law and of the pornography problem.

First, enforcement of federal obscenity laws is based on local, not national, community standards.

Second, the pornography industry is largely controlled by a relatively small number of individuals, often tied to organized crime, who traffic in interstate and international commerce. Not just state and local laws but federal legislation is needed to combat this.

Third, while local zoning laws are useful in preventing neighborhood deterioration, they provide little protection for society at large. Hard-core pornography can be just as harmful to the user and to society as hard drugs, but who would advocate "zoning" the sale of illegal drugs as a solution to the drug crisis in our society?

Last, obscenity has never enjoyed constitutional protection as protected speech, and enforcing constitutional obscenity laws poses no threat either to the worthy purpose of the First Amendment or to a free society.

Robert Peters
Secretary
Council for Community Consciousness
New York, N.Y.

. . . You state that "federal constraints on pornography ought to be ruled out." I do not advocate federal action on all irritations faced by the average American. But pornography is a matter of public health, and just as federal action is necessary in other areas of public health, so too is it required here.

Second, you disfavor "imposing the same standard on country mice and city mice." Given the ease of transportation, there is no alternative to restricting obscenity, since those whose actions are affected by it can assault anyone, despite artificial political boundaries.

Next, you strongly criticize federal enforcement efforts by postal regulations,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Medical Research–building a healthier future

If you've ever been treated for high blood pressure... heart disease...diabetes...or almost any health problem, medical progress based on research has already touched your life.

Because of medical research, polio no longer strikes in epidemic proportions every summer. Today about three-quarters of patients diagnosed as having Hodgkin's disease will survive five years or longer–as opposed to less than half twenty years ago. Current treatment options for people with heart disease and high blood pressure include medication that helps the body's natural regulators to control blood pressure and volume, enabling the heart to function with less strain.

Scientists are now working on new ways of treating such devastating afflictions as heart disease, cancer and Alzheimer's disease. They are testing new enzyme inhibitors that may control or reverse the late complications of diabetes. Forthcoming breakthroughs in understanding biological processes and treating disease may change the quality and perhaps the length of your life.

Medical research leading to such results takes years of patient, often frustrating experimentation by many different teams throughout the public and private sectors of our scientific community. The tasks involved are not simple.

Advances in research stem from a partnership that includes federal agencies such as the National Institutes of Health (NIH) and the Alcohol, Drug Abuse and Mental Health Administration (ADAMHA), universities and teaching hospitals across America, and private industry laboratories. Each partner often works independently to acquire knowledge and test new concepts. They must build on the knowledge developed in all laboratories, and they often coordinate efforts in their search for answers.

Whether an idea originates in a university laboratory or starts with basic product research carried on in the private sector, important findings percolate through the entire scientific community, where each new finding serves as a building block to establish a deeper understanding of what we are and how we function.

Medical research is an expensive process. It needs steady funding for equipment and personnel—even when progress is slow. Government and industry often work with university-based scientists and the medical profession not only in the acquisition of new knowledge and the development of new treatments, but also in funding these advances.

Now more than ever, we all must do our part to help keep the flow of discoveries active and ongoing. If funding for medical research is reduced, major advances in knowledge about some of the most dreaded diseases facing us today could be delayed for years to come.

What can you do?

- *Speak up*. Let your legislators know that you want funding of biomedical research by NIH and other government agencies to be kept at the highest possible levels.
- *Contribute* to voluntary health organizations supporting disease research.

Research-based pharmaceutical companies such as Pfizer are also increasing their financial investment in research. For instance, in 1984 alone, pharmaceutical companies in the United States spent over 4 *billion* dollars on research and product development.

At the same time, we at Pfizer realize the importance of committing more than money to research. As a partner in healthcare, we are continually working to discover new ideas, test new concepts, and turn new understanding to practical and beneficial uses. Now we are working harder than ever to make sure that this nation's medical research effort receives the attention–and funding–it deserves.

For more information on the future of medical research in America, write to Health Research U.S.A., P.O. Box 3852 FR, Grand Central Station, New York, NY 10163.

PHARMACEUTICALS • A PARTNER IN HEALTHCARE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Bronze with Brahms

Think of it: You're lying on a deserted, sun-drenched beach. Just you. And the entire New York Philharmonic.

Because wherever you can listen to radio, you can hear some of the world's most beautiful music.

Played by one of the world's great orchestras.

Exxon is proud to bring you these broadcasts each week, as we have for the last ten years.

Check local listings for the day and time in your area.

Exxon/New York Philharmonic Radio Broadcasts

EXXON

© 1985 Exxon Corporation

IF YOU'RE INTERESTED IN
WORKING FOR A
1986 POLITICAL CAMPAIGN

THE NATIONAL CONSERVATIVE FOUNDATION

offers scholarships to qualified students for its

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN FINANCE SCHOOLS

Learn the principles, realities and pitfalls
of campaign fundraising from the experts in the field.

• The Finance Director • Direct Mail • PAC Fundraising
Direct Response Television • Special Events • FEC Regulations
• Building and Maintaining a Finance Committee •
Motivating the Contributor • Budgeting and Accounting
• Telephone Banks • Computer Technology •

June 16-18
Arlington, VA

July 14-16
Arlington, VA

For further information, contact:

Ellen Mosley
(703) 548-0900

The National Conservative Foundation
John T. (Terry) Dolan, Chairman
1001 Prince Street
Alexandria, VA 22314

FBI investigations, etc. These efforts are in compliance with criminal statutes. I find it strange that a conservative publication, which usually favors law enforcement, would criticize these efforts.

You further state that it is "not a reasonable public-policy goal" to keep pornography addicts from obscene materials. Studies clearly show that the final stage of the addiction process in such addicts is "acting out" what they see. Since in many cases they are seeing women and children abused for sexual pleasure, I would strongly argue that fighting a cause of this behavior is a reasonable public-policy goal. Our rate of sexual crimes and missing children speaks for itself in this regard.

Richard E. McLawhorn
Executive Vice President
National Coalition against Pornography
Cincinnati, Ohio

U.S. Media Chicken: Kiev

Peter Paluch's "Spiking the Ukrainian Famine, Again" [April 11] is but one example of Moscow's policy of destroying Ukrainian national identity and the American media's negligent and at times apologetic reporting of the Kremlin's brutal policies.

At the same time the State Department was reporting on "Ukrainian cultural and historical objects [being] neglected and Uniate churches burned," a Washington newspaper's Moscow correspondent reported on the number of Ukrainians gathering at Soviet statues in Kiev, and in particular at Josef Stalin's, whom many of the Ukrainians call "Ukraine's liberator." The correspondent chose not to mention that despite the Soviet government's propaganda, to most of the world's fifty million Ukrainians, Josef Stalin is known as the Butcher of Ukraine, not as its liberator.

This is another example of the American media's interest in pleasing Soviet officials despite the realities of heavy persecution of Ukrainians, Balts, Byelorussians, and the other nationalities now captive in a so-called "Soviet Union."

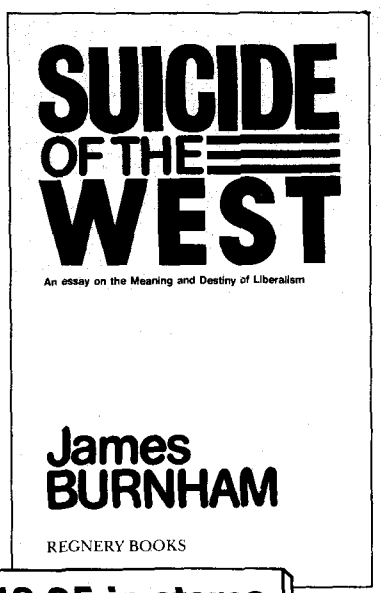
Myron W. Wasylyk
Director
Ukrainian National Information Service
Washington, D.C.

Gramm-Rudman Howlings

The piece on Gramm-Rudman by Stuart Butler and Burton Pines [April 25] begins: "As if some gigantic meteor were hurtling toward the city, Washington, D.C., is girding for an apocalypse. Warnings of doom, chaos, and catastrophe fill the air. . . . What is terrifying the capital is the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If you wonder why Congress caves in to the Communists, read this book



$18.95 in stores — yours FREE!

This is the book that dissects liberalism deep down to its rotten core . . . as no book ever has. Thanks to Burnham's insights, we finally see that strange amalgam of selfrighteousness, guilt, arrogance, double standard, good intention, selective indignation, selective compassion and fuzzy logic that forms the mind and psychology of the liberal. A hint of the riches:

- Why the liberal cannot rule.
- Why liberalism is the ideology of suicide.
- Why liberalism clashes with Christianity.
- The common ancestors of liberalism and Communism.
- Why liberals sneer at patriotism.
- Very precisely: how liberalism lies at the root of race riots, murderous taxes, national surrender and the crime explosion — and why liberals are helpless to do anything about their own follies.
- The inner drives that impel liberals to war on the Right — while giving the Left an ever-so-gentle tap on the wrist, at worst.
- EXTRA! Burnham's fascinating "39 Articles of Liberalism," an intriguing text that you, or anyone, can take to determine your "ideological quotient." You'll be astonished at how accurately it pinpoints anyone's political slant.

If you haven't yet immersed yourself in this classic, prepare for one of the mind-opening experiences of your life.

Important for Christians and Jews

Why do so many religious people follow the siren song of liberalism? James Burnham throws light on corners once dark.

Enthusiasm for this classic, all across the spectrum

"Despite the fact that James Burnham's *Suicide of the West* has not been given the attention it merits, it will find its way and make history. It is brilliantly written, clearly reasoned, and remarkably restrained, given the subject matter: the sickness of Western civilization and its causes."—Irene Corbally Kuhn, *Christian Economics*

"Expounds with corrosive clarity the right-wing case . . . I am sure that the gravest mistake we can commit is to underrate the importance of his attack on liberal thinking and liberalism in government."—R. H. S. Crossman, *Partisan Review*

"If any book may rouse the friends of order, justice and freedom to intelligent action against the grim enemies of civilization, Mr. Burnham has given us just such an instrument." —Russell Kirk

"James Burnham has written a book about Liberalism for which the world has been aching. It is worth more to the West than the year's gross national product, more than all our planes and bombs — with all of these, we have still been losing out in the world. But this book is not only a pathologist's report. It gives the key for the recovery of the West." . . .—William F. Buckley, Jr.

How to get this mind-opening book FREE

How the Club Works

Every 4 weeks (13 times a year) you get a free copy of the Club Bulletin, which offers you the Featured Selection plus a good choice of Alternates — all of interest to conservatives. ★ If you want the Featured Selection, do nothing. It will come automatically. ★ If you don't want the Featured Selection or you do want an Alternate, indicate your wishes on the handy card enclosed with your Bulletin and return it by the deadline date. ★ The majority of Club books will be offered at 20-50% discounts, plus a charge for shipping and handling. ★ As soon as you buy and pay for 3 books at regular Club prices, your membership may be ended at any time, either by you or by the Club. ★ If you ever receive a Featured Selection without having had 10 days to decide if you want it, you may return it at Club expense for full credit. ★ Good service. No computers! ★ The Club will offer regular Superbargains, mostly at 70-90% discounts plus shipping and handling. Superbargains do NOT count toward fulfilling your Club obligation, but do enable you to buy fine books at give-away prices. ★ Only one membership per household.

CONSERVATIVE BOOK CLUB

15 Oakland Avenue • Harrison, NY 10528

Please accept my membership in the Club and send me, free and postpaid, James Burnham's seminal study of the liberal mind, the $18.95 *Suicide of the West*. I agree to buy 3 additional books at regular Club prices over the next 18 months. I also agree to the Club rules spelled out in this coupon.

NR-97

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MADE IN THE U.S.A.

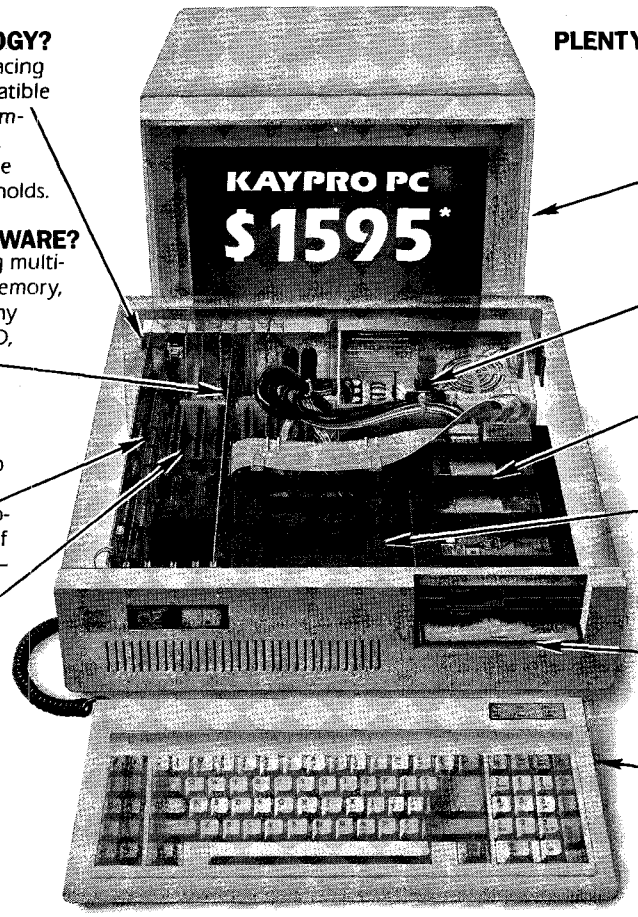
KAYPRO introduces NON-OBSOLESCENCE

NEXT YEAR'S TECHNOLOGY?
It can be yours by simply replacing the existing IBM PC/XT-compatible board with an IBM PC AT-compatible board, available now; IBM 32-bit standard, available soon; or whatever the future holds.

MEMORY-HUNGRY SOFTWARE?
Simply exchange the existing multifunction board (256 KB of memory, expandable to 768 KB) for any configuration of memory, I/O, and controller boards.

HIGH-RESOLUTION GRAPHICS?
Kaypro's standard multivideo board feaures perfect monochrome clarity plus high-resolution color (IBM CGA). But if it's IBM EGA that you want – simply snap in a board!

FURTHER SYSTEM EXPANSION?
The KAYPRO PC is ready for anything. With six available slots, there's ample room to add what you need – networking, modems, extra memory – and more!



PLENTY OF STANDARD FEATURES?

DUAL VIDEO MONITOR:
Standard 12" monochrome monitor for clear text and high-resolution graphics.

POWER SUPPLY:
The maximum 132 watts – plenty of power for even the most demanding hard drive.

FLOPPY DISK DRIVES:
Dual IBM-compatible floppy disk drives standard or slide in the drive of your choice.

HARD DRIVE EXPANSION:
Space provided for easy addition of internal hard drives.

INCLUDED SOFTWARE:
A full selection of powerful business software, with popular programs such as WordStar.®

LATEST KEYBOARD:
Detachable, IBM PC AT-style keyboard with security keylock.

Kaypro's new "Snap-In" technology lets you exchange or update all vital system components in seconds.

Computer technology changes with lightning speed. In the time it takes to read this, there will be dozens of new products on the market that make their predecessors obsolete. With that in mind, we'd like to give you a bit of good news. The 100% IBM PC/XT compatible KAYPRO PC has been engineered to eliminate built-in obsolescence. It's a snap to exchange or update vital components – right down to the system's microprocessor! In addition, standard features such as a dual-video monochrome monitor, IBM PC AT-style keyboard, dual disk drives, and powerful software provide the complete business solution.

Kaypro's 33 years of experience in the sales and service of electronic equipment has culminated in the KAYPRO PC. Also, Kaypro Corporation is proud to say that the KAYPRO PC, like all Kaypro products, is made in the USA. Look into the KAYPRO PC. It just may be the last computer you'll ever need.

Call 1-800-4-KAYPRO or 1-619-481-4300 for the Kaypro dealer in your area.

KAYPRO® CORPORATION

Innovators in Electronics for Over 33 Years

***Suggested Retail Price**

Trademarks: IBM, International Business Machines; WordStar, MicroPro International.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TEST RESULTS.

After handshakes and promises, this is the ultimate test of a bank:

Its ability to cut a deal.

At Canadian Imperial Bank Group, we push ourselves to get the right deal approved. At the right time.

The simple fact is, it takes fewer people to approve a loan at our bank than at many large banks. So you get a response a lot sooner.

We've been getting results like this for our U.S. customers, big and small, for 100 years.

Behind us we have one of the 10 largest banks in North America.

We're not promising that every customer who tests our response will get everything they ask for. No bank can honestly promise that. But we will say this:

Our people, products and pricing consistently bring us repeat business from our corporate credit customers.

And for our money, that's an approval stamp from the best source there is.

PUT US TO THE TEST.

Canadian Imperial Bank Group

© 1986 Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce • Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce (New York) • Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce (California)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ATTENTION ALL TAXPAYERS!

For years the American people have paid higher taxes as a result of special interest loopholes.

President Reagan thinks that this is *wrong*, so in 1985 he proposed a major overhaul of the tax code, eliminating loopholes and lowering rates for the rest of us Americans.

The President's proposal is now in the U.S. Senate, and the lobbyists and special interest groups have launched an expensive campaign to continue their free ride (a ride *we* pay for).

President Reagan needs our help. By calling the number below, you can send a message directly to your Senator urging support for President Reagan's tax reform plan.

Please call today

1-800-325-6000

Operator # 56

You may send an up-to-50-word message of your own ($4.95) or the text already on file at Western Union ($4.00). The normal rate is $9.75—this is a discount of over 50%. Billing is direct to your phone or credit card. The Western Union operator can look up the names of your Senators for you. The line is open 24 hours a day and your message will be delivered the very next day. Please call now.

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

1800 "M" STREET, N.W., SUITE 475, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

"A fatal blow to antitrust theory"*

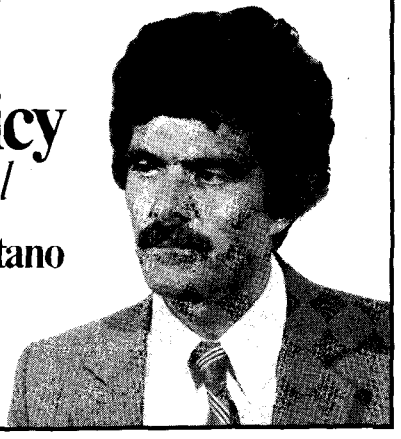
The wave of deregulation that has swept the American economy in the past decade has now reached the last bastion of economic intervention, antitrust policy. Going beyond other scholarly critics and the Reagan administration's reform proposals, economist D. T. Armentano questions the basic idea of antitrust policy. He argues that antitrust laws have been repeatedly employed to restrict competition and that antitrust is inconsistent with both economic efficiency and individual liberty. This provocative book is a challenge to both the critics and the friends of traditional antitrust enforcement. $5.95, 78 pp.

**Fred L. Smith Jr., president Competitive Enterprise Institute*

Antitrust Policy

The Case for Repeal

–D.T. Armentano



CATO INSTITUTE

Cato Institute, Dept. NA
224 Second St. SE
Washington, DC 20003

budget act," whose cuts "will be so politically painful that Ronald Reagan will have no choice but to reverse his Revolution, raising taxes and abandoning the rebuilding of U.S. defenses." The authors go on to say that much of the weeping over the putative fizzling of the Reagan Revolution is crocodile tears from those who never wanted it to prevail in the first place, and that worthwhile programs can still be funded. Along those lines, I recalled that friends of mine on the fringes of the defense industry were plenty worried by Gramm-Rudman last fall and winter, on the grounds that it would make sensible procurement of planes and weapons impossible. But after various developments this year, they have calmed down.

If defense people are no longer panicked by Gramm-Rudman, but big-spenders on Capitol Hill are—then all I can say is, I hope they're both right.

Bob Tilliard
Cambridge, Mass.

Go Dutch

In a comment on the corruption scandals plaguing New York City ["The Week," April 11] you note, "Corruption got so bad under Jimmy Walker that mobster Dutch Schultz was a Democratic poll watcher." It seems that Schultz (*né* Arthur Flegenheimer) was a very civic-minded citizen: In 1925 he was appointed "Honorary Deputy Sheriff" of Bronx County. To paraphrase George Washington Plunkett, an old Tammany pol and crony of Boss Tweed, "He saw his opportunities, and he took 'em." Much like many of the crooks in the current "reform" government.

Thayer Bailey
Chicago, Ill.

Oh Yeah?

For 38 years (and still counting) Peter Rodino has represented my congressional district. This makes me very sad. He did vote with the seven other New Jersey House Democrats against Contra aid. New Jersey, however, isn't all bad; it has six Republican representatives also. Contrary to the item in "For the Record" [April 25], these six Republicans all voted *with* the President on Contra aid.

Murray H. Edson
Newark, N.J.

Take it back about Jersey City ["The Week," April 25]. *Hoboken* is the Hudson County city that has earned a great deal of ridicule for proclaiming itself a "nuclear-free zone."

John H. Taylor
Jersey City, N.J.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE PASSION OF AYN RAND

A BIOGRAPHY BY BARBARA BRANDEN

Her life was the stuff of fiction: she grew up during the Russian revolution and struggled to come to America—to be free and to write what she chose. She learned English by writing screenplays for Cecil B. DeMille. She attacked communism when other intellectuals were enthralled by the "noble experiments." She lauded individualism when collectivism was in vogue. And she offered a path-breaking *moral* defense of capitalism when she stood nearly alone among American intellectuals. Her novels have been lauded and damned by millions, first THE FOUNTAINHEAD and then ATLAS SHRUGGED, which burst on the scene in a storm of controversy that still rages today. She became one of this century's foremost apostles of reason, individualism, and capitalism.

She was unique. She was controversial. She was Ayn Rand.

Now, for the first time, discover the fascinating life of this remarkable woman in this breathtaking biography by Barbara Branden. For nearly twenty years, Ms. Branden was an intimate of Ayn Rand, and in this staggering 421 page hardcover book she shows us the life behind the legend. You may have loved her or hated her—or wondered at the intensity of those who did. Here is the chance to read—for the first time—the full story of this extraordinary woman's life.

"Those who worship Ayn Rand and those who damn her do her the same disservice: they make her unreal and they deny her humanity. She was something infinitely more fascinating than either goddess or sinner. She was a human being. She lived, she loved, she fought her battles, and she knew triumph and defeat. The scale was epic; the principle is inherent in human existence."

THE PASSION OF AYN RAND.
AR9009 $19.95

FREE BONUS

Order The Passion of Ayn Rand today and receive FREE Leonard Peikoff's THE OMINOUS PARALLELS: The End of Freedom In America. This hardcover, 383-page book, published at $16.95, details the frightening parallels between trends in the US today and the intellectual atmosphere that gave rise to Nazi Germany. This $36.90 value is yours for only $19.95. ORDER TODAY.

ORDER TOLL-FREE
1-800-238-2200 ext 500

Charge your
Visa or MasterCard
Continental U.S.
24 hours a day • 7 days a week

MONEY BACK GUARANTEE

If for any reason you are dissatisfied, just return the books within 30 days for a refund.

Send your order to:
LAISSEZ FAIRE BOOKS, Dept. NAL, 532 Broadway, New York, NY 10012

☐ **Send me THE PASSION OF AYN RAND and THE OMINOUS PARALLELS (Order # 9009), *both* for only $19.95. Please include $1.25 postage & handling, or $2.50 UPS ($2.50 for foreign orders).**

☐ **Send me your FREE 32-page catalog of books on liberty**
☐ **My check or money order is enclosed for $ _____**
☐ **Please bill my ☐ Visa ☐ MasterCard**

Acct. No. _____ **Expir. Date** _____

Signature _____

Name (Please Print) _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FOR THE RECORD

In mid primary season, both Democrats and Republicans express confidence that they'll carry the Senate in November. Sen. **George Mitchell** (Me.), chairman of Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, sees Democratic gains in five states: Maryland, South Dakota, Idaho, Florida, North Carolina. Not so, counters Sen. **Jack Heinz** (Pa.), Mitchell's Republican counterpart. If elections were today, says Heinz, the GOP might even pick up a seat. Heinz cites **Ronald Reagan**'s continued popularity (highest ever on the charts), the strong economy, and the big bucks Republican candidates have raised as major plusses for GOP senators. . . . Getting to specifics, in recent primary states: Democratic former N.C. Gov. **Terry Sanford** starts race ten points ahead of Republican nominee, Rep. **James Broyhill**, but Broyhill has just come through divisive intra-party fight. Broyhill, although tarred as the "moderate" in primary against former Amb. **David Funderburk** (**Jesse Helms**'s candidate), has 82 per cent career voting record from ACU; was picked by *Congressional Quarterly* last year as one of the most underrated congressmen. . . . In Texas, GOP primary winner, former Gov. **Bill Clements**, leads Democratic incumbent **Mark White** in polls; turnout in Republican primary was record high for Texas; Democratic turnout was low. . . . In Maryland it looks as if liberal Rep. **Barbara Mikulski** will get the Democratic senatorial nomination, and probably win in November. Miss Mikulski has gotten important financial support from EMILY's List (Early Money Is Like Yeast), an organization established to support women candidates. . . . With South Dakota's June 3 primary just a hop and a skip away, Republican Sen. **Jim Abdnor** has edged ahead of popular Republican Gov. **Bill Janklow**, but whoever wins faces tough race against Democratic candidate, Rep. **Tom Daschle**. . . . In Florida, things continue to look bad for Republican Sen. **Paula Hawkins**. . . . In New York, Democratic leaders may have persuaded former state Power Authority head **John S. Dyson** to take on Republican Sen. **Alfonse D'Amato** and his bulging war chest. Dyson, they say, is willing to spend $3 million on his own candidacy. Only other contender is former **Ralph Nader** aide **Mark Green**, about whom party leaders are unenthusiastic.

Shiaio, *London Daily Telegraph* / Rothco

"Who asked for your opinion?"

Recent polls show Democratic frontrunner in '88, **Gary Hart**, running slightly better than **George Bush** (46 to 44 per cent) and much better than rest of GOP field. This, says pollster **Lou Harris**, "could mean that the twenty-year cycle of virtual Republican dominance of presidential elections could be coming to a close." . . . Democratic pros are less sanguine. Former **LBJ** White House aide **Horace Busby** feels the party's vocal left wing has hurt it. "The public reacts to **Gloria Steinem** or **Jane Fonda** in terms that have nothing to do with mainstream Democrats. . . . These unilateral-disarmament people muck up the Democratic image." . . . At "New Directions" conference in Washington, called by left wing of Democratic Party, socialist **Michael Harrington** lamented that of "all the Democrats mentioned for the 1988 presidential race only one [**Mario Cuomo**] is a liberal." . . . **Joseph Rauh Jr.** sounded a death knell for liberalism: "There's a national fatigue with progress. The people *think* we've done enough for them." . . . The ADA's **Ann F. Lewis** blamed the party's decline on what she calls "these modern-day neo-Democrats" who are rushing "to the right or the center, or wherever they think the political terrain is safest." . . . Arizona Gov. **Bruce Babbitt** ("neo-Democrat") says the fault lies elsewhere. "The Democrats have got to understand that the New Deal is dead. The rules have changed and the Democratic Party is going to have to come to grips with that."

More Libyan fallout: In England, former Conservative Prime Minister **Edward Heath**, in parliamentary attack on **Margaret Thatcher** for her support of U.S. air strike, revealed he had refused America permission to use the Cyprus air base in 1973 Yom Kippur War. . . . Former U.S. Defense Secretary **James Schlesinger** quipped: "We are far more likely to bring down Mrs. Thatcher than we are Col. **Qaddafi**." . . . **Adam Raphael**, political editor of *The Observer*, wrote in virulently anti-American *Manchester Guardian* that he was resigning from National Union of Journalists in view of its "grotesque decision to send 'a message of condolence' to Col. Qaddafi." . . . Odd: Right after the air strike, all Western diplomats in Moscow were summoned to Foreign Ministry for a reassertion of Soviet rights of passage in international waters around Libya. . . . Western diplomats, incidentally, estimate that Libya's military budget is about $2 billion this year, 40 per cent of country's entire projected oil income. . . . As result of ten years of violence, terrorism, and kidnappings, only ten American and British teachers remain on faculty of famed American University of Beirut, out of a faculty of 450.

Going the rounds in the Soviet Union: "**Gorbachev** *has* made a difference. Now we have all the fresh vegetables and milk we want."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

So far it's just a commercial.

A few years ago, the very notion of a $2 trillion national debt seemed a bit farfetched.

Today it's a fact.

And so it's not without good reason that W. R. Grace & Co. peered into the future and produced a commercial called "The Deficit Trials." An admittedly bleak scenario that has children sitting in judgment of an older generation. Ours. A generation charged with the unforgivable crimes of apathy and neglect.

If it all seems overly pessimistic, consider these projections. Consider that today's parents will leave their children a national debt of $13 trillion by the year 2000, just 14 years from now. That debt is as much as 40 times greater than the one you inherited from your parents: a $50,000 debt for every man, woman and child in the year 2000.

What's more, if nothing is done, 94.6% of total Federal personal income tax collections will be used to pay the interest—just the interest—on that staggering $13 trillion debt. The repercussions of that reality are almost unthinkable.

Fortunately, these grim possibilities are just that. Possibilities. After all, no one really knows what another generation of unchecked federal deficits will bring. But we know this much. You can change the future. To find out how you can help, write to: W. R. Grace & Co., Dept. 2017, 1114 Avenue of the Americas, N.Y., N.Y. 10036.

"The Deficit Trials" is still just a commercial. And you can keep it that way.

GRACE

One step ahead of a changing world.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK

☐ The Soviet Union has finally contrived to give power to the people.

☐ At the beginning of the Reagan Administration, Bob Packwood of Oregon was a special media pet—one of those maverick moderates, principled but unpredictable, who refused to succumb to the "extremists" who had taken over the Republican Party. Actually, he was a guy with a sure sense of the prevailing winds. As late as last year he was saying, "I kind of like the present tax code." Now he has produced an ultra-Reaganite tax bill. Congratulations, Mr. President. When you wake up and find the mainstream opportunists on your side, you're a success. Likewise when you find your ideas stolen by people who used to call them wacko.

☐ After several years of concern in the press about the dollar's being too high, we now observe a flurry of concern about its being too low, calling to mind the classic Jewish mother's telegram: START WORRYING —DETAILS TO FOLLOW. Actually, the new weakness is a better excuse for worry than the old strength, if we have to choose. One interesting theory, however, suggests that both strength and weakness have rational explanations. On this view, the dollar began dropping against the yen, mark, and Swiss franc about the time oil prices started to collapse: Japan, Germany, and Switzerland have next to no oil and thus benefit much more than we do from OPEC's demise. Which means that multilateral efforts to manipulate exchange rates, such as those discussed at Tokyo and other summits, may have much less effect than their sponsors like to think.

Closing the Loopholes

Those squeals you're hearing from New York,
Like pigs stuck on a haying fork,
Are only Mr. Cuomo's, who
Has turned an unbecoming blue
As Congress votes to garnishee
Some tax deductibility.

W. H. VON DREELE

☐ Some 6,500 scientists, including a majority of physicists at the twenty leading universities, have pledged not to work on SDI, calling it "ill conceived and dangerous." Since research and testing on the project are in a preliminary stage, the boycott clearly rests on other than empirical grounds. It will hamper but not cripple development. Our characterization of these scientists cannot be carried in this family magazine.

☐ The Supreme Court's recent decision ("morally scandalous"—ACLU; "callous nonchalance"—Thurgood Marshall; "loading the argument for death"—*New York Times*) that prosecutors may throw out potential jurors who oppose the death penalty makes obvious common sense. Mennonites should not sit on courts-martial; penalties ought not to rest in the hands of those who find certain penalties unconscionable. But the case was not even really about that. An Arkansas murderer, appealing his life sentence, argued that juries from which opponents of capital punishment are excluded are statistically more likely to *convict*. The appellants, in other words, were seeking juries loaded for innocence. Defense attorneys, naturally, always seek such juries, just as prosecutors always seek the reverse. The Court did right to resist the attempt constitutionally to stack the deck.

☐ It goes without saying that the "sanctuary movement" represents civil disobedience and is a form of political protest against further resistance to Communism in Central America. Some of those involved may believe in God, who knows, but most are left-wing political activists, often with long histories of championing the usual causes. Churches are not legal "sanctuaries" for anyone, and have not been since the Middle Ages. The Central American "refugees" involved do not qualify under the 1980 legislation regarding persecuted persons, and many of them appear to have actually been recruited by the sanctuary crowd. Some arrive fully equipped with anti-American rhetoric. Civil disobedience is of course a valid form of protest, but those who say A must expect B to come back as a reply, and B stands for jail, as the eight convicted in Tucson, Arizona, presumably will find out.

☐ South Africa-bashing is that surest of all campus sells: a totally painless moral calisthenic. Or is it

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

THE SENATE Finance Committee's unanimous approval of a bona-fide tax-reform bill has given Ronald Reagan's domestic agenda unstoppable momentum. "The special-interest boys are just beginning to see how severe their problem is," says a GOP senator. "They're in for the fight of their lives."

Some of the provisions likely to panic lobbyists include: the jump in the capital-gains tax from 20 to 27 per cent; the entertainment-deduction cut (100 to 80 per cent); stringent limits on personal interest allowances; loss of deductibility of contributions to Individual Retirement Accounts (IRAs) for employees covered by a private pension plan.

The Senate bill, authored almost single-handedly by the unpredictable Finance Committee chairman, Bob Packwood (R., Ore.), will get Ronald Reagan's full support, as he himself pledged in a recent telephone call to the senator. It will breeze through the Senate, after which, Packwood and House Ways and Means Committee chairman Dan Rostenkowski (D., Ill.) won't have all that much trouble negotiating the differences between the two versions. "Everyone up here wants tax reform badly," says a Democratic Ways and Means Committee staffer, "and they'll go to extremes to get it." IRAs may well have their unconditional deductibility restored, but the 27 per cent top rate will probably stay inviolate.

Meanwhile, the role Packwood and the Republican-dominated Senate have played in the reform drama will help ensure that Mr. Reagan and his party get the lion's share of political credit. The House-Senate conference will also probably not tinker excessively with the measure since the odium of failure would fall squarely on Danny Rostenkowski and his fellow House Democrats. Watch for this historic legislation to be passed before the 99th Congress dissolves sometime in October (before elections—fortunately for the Republicans). There won't be a lame-duck session.

The Tokyo summit was a glitzy win for Ronald Reagan, but the coup de grâce for Yasuhiro Nakasone. The Japanese prime minister failed to get the members of the Western Alliance to lower the soaring value of the yen, which reached a postwar high on the summit's final day. Tokyo's powerful business sector is showing heavy displeasure with Nakasone, which means that even if his party wins the June election, Tokyo-watchers here surmise that he will not be able to maneuver himself into an unprecedented third term.

Why was Babrak Karmal cut loose by the Soviets? Is Moscow loosening or tightening the reins on Afghanistan? "The scorched-earth policy will continue as far as the eye can see," says a Hill analyst. "That's why they put Najibullah in. Karmal wasn't 'Sovietizing' fast enough." The Soviet operation in Afghanistan has killed, wounded, or uprooted at least half of the country's 15 million people, and with the recent spring offensive (the largest in the history of the war), the Soviets are there to stay. The Kremlin has put its best fighters and equipment into the region, including 70 per cent of all *Spetsnaz* (Green Beret-type) units. "Unless the West imposes some sort of economic sanctions," says the expert, "Moscow isn't going to give an inch. As long as the Soviets can get away with murder, they'll keep on doing it."

Senator Gordon Humphrey (R., N.H.) has followed the situation more closely than anyone else in Congress, and he's pessimistic, too. "There's no doubt that the Soviets want to incorporate Afghanistan into their empire." As for what the U.S. should do, Humphrey is emphatic: oppose the UN-sponsored peace talks in Geneva. "Without any Muslim rebels represented, it's a farce. The Muslims are the true representatives of the Afghan people, not the Soviet puppets negotiating." Humphrey comes down hard on President Reagan, accusing him of "not being in charge on this one. . . . If Ronald Reagan were to condemn the talks, that might force the Soviets to bring the rebels in. What we're doing now only seals their fate."

In early May, NBC aired a television interview conducted by Henry Champ with the hunted Arab terrorist Abul Abbas, wanted in the U.S. and Italy for masterminding the *Achille Lauro* hijacking, in which a wheelchair-confined passenger, Leon Klinghoffer, was brutally slain. NBC acceded to the terrorists' precondition that the site of the interview be kept secret. Cato has learned that the site was Algeria. The State Department gave a dressing down not only to NBC—for quasi-legitimizing Abbas with network TV airtime, and for refusing to divulge the locale of the interview—but also to the Algerian government for providing de facto asylum. —CATO

---

painless? The fear is slowly dawning, among fundraisers, that if too many high-dudgeoning universities divest their portfolios of the stocks of companies that do business in South Africa, said companies may cease to do business with universities. "We run a major risk of losing their affection," was how a trust officer at Oberlin put it. And why not? Capitalism has been the principal lever of amelioration in the lives of black South Africans. Bishop Tutu and the shanty-of-the-week set have their program for South Africa's future, but there can be others. Colleges have no monopoly on moral sensibility. If they choose to express their disdain by rearranging their investments, corporations ought to affirm their confidence in their own rectitude by rearranging their gifts. As a result of these economic reallocations, college students might then begin to pay for their principles—say, a thousand bucks more in tuition per year.

☐ The occasion was Yale's annual GLAD, or Gay/Lesbian Awareness Day. The defendant was a student who put up satirical posters at the expense of GLAD, which some people would go so far as to interpret as free speech, or, if you want to use severe terminology, heckling. What does Official Yale do? It puts the undergraduate on probation for *two years*, i.e., for the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

balance of his academic career. Observations: 1) If the student had merely busted up a speech by General Westmoreland or by William Shockley, the student would probably have got off scot-free (not right). 2) Gays should be permitted, for reasons of prudence, to celebrate their aberrations without interference. 3) Yale's administration can find better things to do than to imitate Dartmouth's.

☐ Referring to the "judgment and integrity" of Senator Barry Goldwater, James Reston suggests, 22 years late, that in his heart he knew Barry was right.

☐ Horacio Ruiz, managing editor of Managua's *La Prensa*, recently told readers of the *Washington Post* all about Sandinista censorship. The chief censor, Nelba Blandón, takes a close interest in *La Prensa*'s operation. Among her standing policies: The anti-Communist rebels must always be called "Contras"; Edén Pastora's name must be accompanied by the phrase "the traitor"; the names of Miguel Cardinal Obando y Bravo and Alexis Arguello, the great boxer, can't even be mentioned (because of their criticism of the regime). In addition, individual stories are constantly killed. On one occasion Captain Blandón even censored herself: She refused to let *La Prensa* carry an AP interview she gave on censorship. Why? "Because the statements I made were for publication abroad, not for publication in Nicaragua."

☐ Babrak Karmal is out, and a 39-year-old doctor named Najibullah is in as Afghanistan's new "leader." Najibullah (his only known name) is chiefly qualified for the job by his having run and upgraded the secret police, in which capacity his medical skill is said to have served him well: Some call him Afghanistan's Dr. Mengele. His Soviet masters continue to field 120,000 troops in the country, so the change of regime, like a mid-season change of baseball managers, suggests that the war isn't going well.

☐ FLASH: The Soviet press reports that the death toll at Chernobyl has risen to nine. In addition, as many as a dozen may have perished during Stalin's purges.

☐ Oil prices go down, down, down, and ain't it fun? For a world that thrives on cheap energy, the news is delicious. For the part of it that prefers slave labor, produces practically nothing that anybody wants, and depends on oil and gas for more than two-thirds of its export revenue, the news is not so good, and isn't that too bad for the Soviet Union? It seems an appropriate time to remind the Soviet rulers that we don't have to continue to feed them.

☐ At the Tokyo summit, Secretary of State Shultz warned Mad Dog Qaddafi: "You've had it, pal." Within a matter of days:

At Tokyo

The nudges of the knowing
  Toward dolls stuck through with pins
All vanished in the dazzle
  Of Mr. Reagan's grins.
For voodoo economics
  No longer looked bizarre,
While *Rambo* ran discreetly
  On Shultz's VCR.

W. H. VON DREELE

—West Germany expelled 22 Libyan "diplomats."

—Spain tossed out 12, including the senior Libyan official, and arrested a Spanish army colonel who had links to Qaddafi.

—Italy arrested a former Libyan diplomat for plotting the murder of American and Arab officials.

—Britain kicked out 22 Libyan students and plans to boot some two hundred more, and also expelled three Syrian attachés.

—Turkey charged two Libyans with conspiring to blow up an American officers' club there.

Amazing what a little air strike can accomplish.

☐ Kudos to *Human Events* for digging out the following quotes from liberal Democratic politicians between January and March 1981, when Ronald Reagan carried out his campaign promise to decontrol the price of oil. Senator Howard Metzenbaum (D., Ohio): "With one stroke of the pen President Reagan has put into jeopardy his entire commitment to wring inflation out of our economy. . . . It is just a matter of time until the oil companies, and their associates, the OPEC nations, will be driving gasoline pump prices up to $2 a gallon." Senator Edward Kennedy (D., Mass.): "An unwise step that only makes inflation worse . . . There is no free lunch." Senator Dale Bumpers (D., Ark.): "Decontrol is designed to see how much can we squeeze out of the American people before they take to the streets." Senator Donald Riegle (D., Mich.): "[It] will hurt our people within a matter of days." Senator George Mitchell (D., Me.): "Every citizen and every family will find their living standards reduced by this decision." Representative Brian Donnelly (D., Mass.): "The only fuel it will provide immediately is fuel for inflation. . . . Price gougers will make giant profits." In 1981 the price for domestic crude was $30 a barrel; today it is $14, and sinking. In 1981 inflation was at 12 per cent; today it is at 4 per cent, and sinking. Unhappily, the reputation of Mr. Reagan's critics continues inflated.

☐ Under pressure from private groups and bad publicity from the U.S. Commission on Pornography,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

most 7-Eleven stores have stopped carrying *Playboy* and *Penthouse*. (Rite Aid drugstores have followed suit.) The Hefners and Gucciones are hauling out Alan Dershowitz and their heaviest rhetoric: Hitler, Stalin, McCarthy, etc. (These folks do better with pictures than with words.) Both magazines stand to lose hundreds of thousands of sales per month. Much of the credit goes to Don Wildmon of the National Federation for Decency and Tim LaHaye of the American Coalition for Traditional Values.

☐ The National Organization for Women and assorted satellites declare that the Roman Catholic Church has entered a "new McCarthyism," and not a moment too soon.

☐ And in the marketplace of ideas, Phil Donahue and a follower of Lyndon LaRouche got into a fistfight at LaGuardia Airport.

☐ What is the forecast for Kiev? Sunny, and three thousand degrees.

☐ What is the five-day forecast? Two days.

☐ What is Waldheimer's disease? You forget that you were a Nazi.

The 27 Per Cent Solution

CUTTING THE top tax rate to 27 per cent covers a multitude of sins, and a multitude of sins is a good way to describe the rest of what's in the tax code [see also "The Great Tax Reform Debate," p. 40]. There are many distortions that will remain, and a few new ones that will be added, but at least the cliffs will be much lower; no one will want to buy a tax shelter that costs forty cents on the dollar.

The Senate Finance Committee's sudden access of reformist virtue is all the more impressive because it had been leading the forces of the Sin Camp. Pelted by unprecedented editorial condemnation, Senator Packwood and his colleagues abandoned much of their own special-interest handiwork, including the proposal to end excise-tax deductibility recently complained of in this space. In fact, it was the very radicalism of their new solution that makes it politically feasible: Lobbyists who had fiercely refused to trade a few deductions for a 10 per cent cut were glad to trade a lot of deductions for a 23 per cent cut.

Not all the concessions were made by special interests. The forces of growth and efficiency gave up some ground too. The treatment of capital gains in the Packwood bill is probably too harsh in principle and is certainly too harsh in practice, given that inflation continues to create artificial gains on which tax must be paid (indexing should be a top priority). The loss of most IRA benefits will leave more retirees dependent on Social Security—just where the liberals want them—though at least the Packwood bill admits the logic of leaving the IRA deduction for workers who don't have private pension plans.

There are also puzzling new anomalies. A clawback of the personal exemption for well-off taxpayers will leave many of them paying an actual marginal rate of 32 per cent, though the marginal rate for the really wealthy will fall back to the proclaimed 27 per cent. Home-mortgage interest will still be deductible, but most consumer interest won't. Which means many people will be taking out second mortgages to buy cars. And by denying deductions for state sales taxes but not income taxes, the bill would strongly encourage states to rely more heavily on graduated income taxation to raise revenue, something conservatives have traditionally opposed.

These flaws are hardly lethal, but they will all be magnified if, in Hill negotiations, the top rate is allowed to creep back up. Even if the bill passes, many people will still be paying marginal rates around 50 per cent when Social Security and state taxes are counted in. But unless it passes, they will continue to pay much more. The bill thus makes a fitting monument to President Reagan and this Congress, and an even better monument to good sense.

Norris, *Vancouver Sun* / Rothco

"To think we're right back where we started . . . a quick puff behind the garden toolshed."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Over There

GREAT DISASTERS, from the Deluge through the Peloponnesian War to Vietnam, have inevitably provided people with great lessons. At this writing, the nuclear disaster in the Ukraine may well still be under way; its final dimensions are unknown and, given Soviet notions about the right to know, may never be known. But it is certainly a great disaster and certainly great lessons will be drawn from it. Whether they will be the right ones is less certain.

Predictably, anti-nuclear activists around the world have seized on Chernobyl as evidence that It Can Happen Here. A coalition of American "environmentalist" organizations has already been organized for the purpose of demanding a phase-out of all U.S. nuclear power plants, and similar calls are being heard in Europe.

But Chernobyl is proof that It Can Happen—not Here, but There. This should be no surprise. Anyone with any understanding of quality control in a command economy must be uneasy about the ambitious Soviet nuclear-power program. This goes double for anyone who knows that many Soviet reactors are built without containments, the reinforced concrete structures that prevented the release of any but trivial radiation at Three Mile Island. At the risk of appearing a Cassandra, I will quote a passage from my *The War against the Atom*, written in late 1980 about a U.S. press tour of Soviet nuclear plants:

> . . . the absence of an antinuclear movement in the Soviet Union was [attributed] to the superior safety of the People's reactors. . . . What was not generally reported was that most Soviet reactors have no containments. Had a Three Mile Island-type accident happened at one of these uncontained reactors, there would almost certainly have been very serious releases of radioactivity.

But Chernobyl IV and her sisters are worse than uncontained reactors: They are uncontained, water-cooled, graphite-moderated reactors, a design used for power generation nowhere but in the Soviet Empire, and for good reason. Low-temperature graphite reactors of this type are prone to develop hot spots—known as "Wigner energy"—within the core; these must be cooled through very delicate manipulations. Errors in doing this accounted for the 1957 fire in the weapons-production reactor at Windscale in England. Moreover, graphite burns at temperatures sufficient to dissociate the oxygen and hydrogen in water, producing a ready-made explosive mixture of great power. This means that water can be as unsatisfactory as gasoline for putting out a graphite fire. The explosion that appears to have devastated Chernobyl IV may have been the result of trying to extinguish a graphite fire with water.

Given these facts, the incident at Chernobyl barely deserves the name of "accident." It can be more accurately thought of as a case of drunk driving.

Misreading the Middle East

WATCHING CONGRESS perform in the foreign-affairs arena makes it easy to understand why the authors of the Constitution never intended the legislative branch to have much influence over American foreign policy. A classic case in point was the recent overwhelming vote in both the House and the Senate against the Administration's proposed sale of tactical missiles to Saudi Arabia.

When arms sales to the Arabs are voted down, it is tempting to blame the Israeli government and the powerful pro-Israeli lobby led by the indefatigable American-Israeli Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC). But in this instance, the foreign ministry in Jerusalem offered only token opposition, and AIPAC did little to stop the sale. Even the Israelis recognized what Congress could not: The sale posed no serious threat to the security of Israel.

Rejection of the sale stemmed from Capitol Hill's excessive fixation on the Arab-Israeli conflict, as well as from misplaced but understandable resentment of Arab condemnation of the U.S. air strike against Libya. In the first instance, the majority of lawmakers failed to understand that Saudi Arabia's royal family cares little about the Arab-Israeli conflict and has never made any serious military effort against Israel, not even in the Jihad-like atmosphere of the October 1973 war.

Although the Saudis feel compelled to pay lip service to the myth of Arab unity vis-à-vis Israel, their real preoccupation, quite naturally, is with the one real threat that faces them: Shiite fundamentalism as incarnated in revolutionary Iran. If that force ever gets out of hand, the Persian Gulf would go up in flames and the present government of Saudi Arabia along with it.

The current oil glut may have lulled the West into a false sense of security over threats to the Persian Gulf. The hard reality is that the Western nations will be dependent on Persian Gulf oil for at least twenty years, and high prices and shortages could return with a vengeance at any time. Saudi Arabia is the single

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But could it Happen Here? The conditions make it extraordinarily unlikely. We have no graphite power reactors cooled by water. Our sole graphite power reactor is cooled not by water but by relatively inert helium gas; it operates at a temperature that obviates the problem of Wigner energy. Every nuclear power plant in the United States has a containment. The physical conditions that brought about the Ukrainian disaster do not exist in the United States, and Three Mile Island remains the maximum credible power-plant accident here, which is to say, one in which there is no threat to the public health.

There are five uncontained reactors in the United States: weapons-production reactors, which operate at lower temperatures, lower pressures, and lower power densities than Chernobyl IV. These have been assumed to present no risks requiring full-scale containment. The Chernobyl disaster is probably reason to reassess this judgment. If it is found doubtful, retrofitting containments to these reactors might prove nearly as expensive as replacing them with more modern, fully contained designs. But these reactors are in any event irrelevant to the nuclear-power industry.

And so is the accident at Chernobyl, except perhaps to put Three Mile Island in better perspective. That does not mean that Chernobyl will have no effect on nuclear energy in this country. The anti-nuclear movement has never been long on information or rationality. We are already beginning to hear dogged claims that Chernobyl IV and her American sisters are equally dangerous because, whatever their differences, they use the same technology. They do not; they use the same physics.

Opportunistic exploitation of Chernobyl—often as not, by people who on other days and on other picket lines tell us that the Soviets can be trusted on arms control—may well lead opportunistic politicians into a new assault on nuclear energy. We may see more of the charades by which state and local governments refuse to take part in evacuation drills and thus force the withholding of operating licenses for reactors now under construction or indeed completed, as in the case of the Shoreham plant on Long Island. And there may be a negative impact on future orders. Optimists in the U.S. nuclear industry had been expecting a resumption of orders for nuclear plants within five years; that date may be pushed back. We will not feel the impact of these delays until, in the late 1990s, obsolescence of existing power plants begins to lead to brownouts.

From the point of view of nuclear power, the problem in the United States is that there are short- and middle-term alternatives to the atom: the fossil fuels. They are not as safe as nuclear energy (coal kills at a minimum twenty thousand Americans a year through air pollution); for the most part they are less economical; and in the long term they are needed as feedstocks for petrochemicals. But for the time being we can afford wastefully to burn them as fuel, and their threats to public health are largely unpublicized. In countries such as France and Japan, with no oil and little coal, the lessons drawn from Chernobyl are more likely to be the right ones: Technologically backward countries should not develop their own nuclear-power programs.

In the United States, affluent in energy as in everything else, we may not be so lucky.

—Samuel McCracken

---

most stabilizing influence in the Gulf. Its defense is a vital U.S. interest.

As for terrorism, why punish Saudi Arabia for condemning the strike against Libya? Why not start with France, Italy, or Greece? The only terrorist incidents connected with Saudi Arabia in our memory occurred on Saudi territory and were aimed at the royal family itself. Punishing all Arabs for Qaddafi's crimes smacks of the racism the Left is usually so quick to condemn.

President Reagan should veto the congressional resolution on the arms sale, then pull out all stops to ensure that the veto is maintained.

Three Bad Reasons To Comply with SALT II

The Administration's decision to continue complying with the SALT II treaty is inexplicable in the broader context of President Reagan's foreign policy. It is all the more puzzling given that the issue at hand was whether to dismantle a Poseidon submarine or merely dry-dock it and plug up its missile tubes.

The Administration chose the first option, thus complying with every last jot and tittle of the unratified treaty. The dry-docking option would have placed the United States in technical violation of the treaty, while manifesting a willingness to remain within the numerical limits mandated by the 1979 agreement. It would have been the mildest possible slap of the Kremlin's hands for its own massive arms-control violations.

We can think of only three reasons—all bad—why the Administration would choose to continue complying with an unratified and fatally flawed treaty.

First bad reason: politics. It is an election year, and the political types in the White House do not want to rock the boat of a booming economy and a world at peace. They fear that deliberately violating SALT II would lead to unpleasant headlines and give Democrats an issue in close congressional races.

Second bad reason: summitry shudders. The President seems oddly fixated on holding another summit meeting with Gorbachev. Insiders at the White House

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

After You, Alfonse

The House of Saud did not attain
Its Caddies thanks to Thomas Paine,
  But if we clench
Our fists whenever Saudis queue
For Stingers, we'll just turn them to
  Our friends the French.

W. H. von Dreele

say this is the real reason he refused to meet Yelena Bonner (shades of the Ford-Solzhenitsyn fiasco!). It may also account for the odd logic of unilateral compliance.

Third utterly inexcusable reason: loss of will. It would not suffice to dry-dock a submarine quietly and hope the Soviets got the message. Such a move would only make strategic sense if coupled with an all-out political offensive against Soviet arms-control violations, publicizing them mercilessly at every opportunity, and putting arms-control mythologists both at home and in Western Europe on the defensive. It would be a challenging, effort-consuming, and politically difficult campaign, and the White House staff just does not seem up to it right now. Until such a campaign is conducted, however, the illusory promises of arms-control advocates will continue to dominate the national debate on security policy.

If Walter Mondale by some freak of history had won in 1984, the Republicans would be excoriating him right now for continuing to comply with SALT II in the face of blatant Soviet violations. Ronald Reagan would lead the list of distinguished critics.

The Vidal Exemption

This March, in its 120th-anniversary issue, *The Nation* published a weird piece by Gore Vidal that presumed on the cultural exemption he has long seemed to enjoy for his most extravagant statements. He described Norman Podhoretz (along with his wife, Midge Decter) as "a lobbyist for a foreign power," i.e., Israel; as refusing to be an "assimilated American"; as a member of the right-wing "Israeli Fifth Column Division," who ought to register as an agent of a foreign power; as making common cause with anti-Semites and "Jesus-Christers"; as starring in a supposititious Woody Allen film called *The Purple Prose of West End Avenue*, i.e., one of New York's Jewish neighborhoods; and as reveling joyously "in the politics of hate, with plangent attacks on blacks and/or fags and/or liberals."

The root of Vidal's frenzy may be discerned in that last formulation: In one of his newspaper columns Podhoretz did lament the passage of New York's gay-rights statute. But all of this seemed too much for the sober neoconservative editor, who sent a letter to thirty liberal friends of *The Nation* asking whether they saw fit to protest Vidal's anti-Semitic screaming. Twenty-one men of goodwill did not respond. Six expressed disapproval of the article; three resented Podhoretz's letter. Tom Wicker and Roger Wilkins held the Vidal piece up to the light and saw no anti-Semitism in it, though they can spot "racism" at a distance of twenty miles.

About all of which, a few conclusions. It is now acceptable on the Left to vilify neoconservatives in the most uncontrolled terms. Where Israel is concerned, the ethics of rhetoric no longer apply on the Left. Podhoretz's letter may have been naïve in assuming at least residual conscience there. Vidal enjoys a special immunity as an avowed homosexual. *The Nation* once again confirms its reputation as the cesspool of opinion journalism.

Judge Not

A pair of Reagan nominees to the federal judiciary have been taking their lumps. The Senate Judiciary Committee has refused to recommend Daniel A. Manion of Indiana for confirmation, and Jefferson B. Sessions III of Alabama is facing inquisition into the question whether he is properly "sensitive" about race.

Until lately, reports Howard Kurtz in the *Washington Post*, "the Democrats have refrained from challenging any nominee explicitly on grounds of being too conservative. . . . But the Manion nomination is a flat-out fight over ideology."

Both Manion and Sessions have been made to look bad—not egregious, but mildly embarrassing. Manion has trouble spelling; he has links to the John Birch Society; he co-sponsored a state law that would have required the posting of the Ten Commandments in schools. Sessions once referred to the ACLU and NAACP, *inter alia*, as "un-American organizations," and is alleged to have used the word "boy" of a black man.

None of this should shock anyone who remembers how Franklin Roosevelt stuffed the Supreme Court itself with New Deal hacks, most of whom lacked any semblance of judicial qualification, and one of whom was a former member of the Ku Klux Klan. And no Justice has ever been a more outspoken ideologue than William O. Douglas.

More recently, Lyndon Johnson appointed Thurgood Marshall—the first black Justice, but also a partisan in many of the causes that have come before the Court. Marshall himself was chief author and advocate of the NAACP's victorious case in *Brown* v. *Board of Education*. He has been curiously exempt from suspicion of being *parti pris* in spite of a long record of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

voting consistently in favor of the same interests he formerly represented in private practice: black interests. It seems to be *expected* that he will vote along racial lines. Put otherwise, for Marshall no white man ever seems to have "civil rights"—in busing, affirmative action, or outright racial quotas—that run counter to the interests of the black lobbies.

Manion and Sessions have reason to suspect a pattern of discrimination.

Mircea Eliade, RIP

MIRCEA ELIADE's rich, exuberant life ended in springtime, as it had begun 79 years earlier. The campus of the University of Chicago was in bloom, and he had been teaching, writing, tutoring to the end. The novelist and historian of religion, philosopher and playwright, born and educated in Rumania, was among the world's most esteemed intellectuals, and among the gentlest, warmest human beings. A class with Professor Eliade was an experience in breathtakingly encyclopedic scholarship.

Having written an entire library of fiction and nonfiction even before he left Rumania forever (in 1940), his output was prodigious. Among his best-known works in the West were: *Traité d'Histoire des Religions* (1949), *Le Chamanisme* (1951), *The Myth of the Eternal Return* (1954), *Patterns in Comparative Religions* (1958), *The Forge and the Crucible* (1962), *No Souvenirs* (1977), *A History of Religious Ideas* (1979)—to name just a few. But he was proudest of the novel *The Forbidden Forest*—a work of epic fiction on the scale of Tolstoy and Balzac.

Eliade's end came peacefully, in the arms of his devoted wife of 56 years. He seems to have anticipated it in *The Forbidden Forest*, which ends thus: "That moment—unique, infinite—revealed to him the total beatitude he had yearned for so many years. It was there in the glance she bestowed on him . . . He had known that this last moment, this moment without end, would suffice." —JULIANA PILON

Jean Genet, RIP

NOVELIST, playwright, prose master, and Parisian cult anti-hero, Jean Genet was a striking figure in that he cared enough about Western culture to attack it in every conceivable detail. Nothing important went un-negated. To his credit, he was not indifferent. All of the West's virtues he depicted as vices; all of its vices became for him virtues. His anti-morality possessed a kind of Cartesian consistency.

His five novels, from *Our Lady of the Flowers* (1943) to *The Thief's Journal* (1949), constitute his most important body of work. They are autobiographical, the facts often merging into mythologization, and they exhibit a remarkably resourceful rhetoric, which functions to transform values into anti-values. If property is a positive value, Genet becomes a thief. If life is a value, Genet affirms murder. Naturally, or rather unnaturally, Genet celebrates homosexuality. He supported the Algerian insurgents, the Black Panthers, the Baader-Meinhof gang, the Japanese Red Army terrorists, the rioters at the 1968 Democratic convention in Chicago (in *Esquire*, among the chic consumer ads). He supported, of course, the Palestinian terrorists. His experimental dramas dynamited the conventions of the theater.

"Jean Genet has left us," said François Mitterrand's former Minister of Culture, Jack Lang. "Jean Genet was liberty itself, and those who hated and fought him were hypocrites." Genet would have richly enjoyed a sentiment so fatuous. He died at 75 in a Paris hotel room as bare as a monk's cell.

NOTES & ASIDES

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Help! My international-relations professor claims I suffer from cognitive dissonance because I cannot sympathize with the Soviet viewpoint. I don't believe the Soviet Union and the United States are on a spiral of aggression causing each to misperceive the other as the aggressor. I actually think the Soviets are the aggressors. I don't think Soviet insecurity is the cause of its behavior in the Third World. I even believe in a Soviet Grand Strategy. In fact, my favorite expletive is: "Communist." What can I do to change? Perhaps I should undertake electroshock treatment or worse yet, maybe I should cancel my subscription to NATIONAL REVIEW and subscribe to *Pravda*. Do you have any suggestions?

Cordially,
James H. Boardman Jr.
APO New York

Dear Mr. Boardman: Why not subscribe your international-relations professor to *NR*? Electroshock treatment would then become relevant. Cordially, WFB

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Here's an idea for a long-term solution to the accumulating mess at Dartmouth College, where, as you know, its *Review* has endured one encounter after another with faculty and administration.

Why not conduct secret negotiations, as the U.S. did with Haiti, to get President McLaughlin to leave Hanover? He could come to New York to work for you. Then, you would send *your* McLaughlin to Dartmouth as president. The switch would be performed at night or during spring break, so as not to attract

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

News Item: "The USSR admitted today that it had experienced some technical difficulties with one of its nuclear reactors."

any attention. Thus the McLaughlin administration could continue uninterrupted.

Your man McLaughlin would be able to jaunt to Washington frequently, exercising his administrative option, while their McLaughlin would remain productive at *NR* in New York.

I'd give the Dartmouth faculty six, maybe nine months to catch on. By then it would be too late.

Comfort and joy to you,
Aaron D. Barnhart
The Northwestern Review
Evanston, Ill.

Dear Mr. Barnhart: Terrific idea. We'll get President McLaughlin to edit "The Open Question" here at *NR*.
Cordially, WFB

☐ Memo to: Bill
From: Jim McFadden
Re: *Times Mirror* poll

Here's something of interest from *Editor & Publisher* (Feb. 8) you may not have seen. [Excerpts.]

"It was not the most publicized section of the report, but the Times Mirror 'People & The Press' survey asked readers about the comics and columnists they like.

". . . In the area of columnists, the survey found that the two who are 'sometimes read' the most were Art Buchwald of the Los Angeles Times Syndicate and William F. Buckley Jr. of Universal, both with 27 per cent. Then came Jack Anderson of United, 26 per cent; James J. Kilpatrick of Universal, 20 per cent; Mike Royko of Tribune and George Will of WPWG, both with 12 per cent; Bob Greene of Tribune, Carl Rowan of News America Syndicate, and James Reston of the New York Times News Service, all with 7 per cent; William Safire of NYTNS and Ellen Goodman of WPWG, both with 5 per cent; Rowland Evans and Robert Novak of NAS and Mary McGrory of Universal, both with 4 per cent; David Broder of WPWG, 3 per cent; and the late Joseph Kraft of LATS, 2 per cent."

Dear Jim: I feel the heat! Best, B.

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Besides drinking orange-flavored Metamucil® instead of screwdrivers, the single most important change in being retired is losing the influence you wielded formerly. When the kids were growing up, using that old woven belt with the brass buckle seemed to "impact" many a crisis; and, when in our prime, how often the turmoils of a business or practice were calmed by our seasoned judgment.

At three score and eight, I have found a way to stir the pudding once again. In stores throughout the Republic, Father Andrew "Porno" Greeley's paperbacks are being displayed, and *dolore dictu*, bought by an unsuspecting public. Enter the superannuated "agent for change"—as the self-appointed libby gurus and gurettes like to call themselves. While you appear as a nice old gentleman looking for a little literature, you are moving a copy or two of Unfather Greeley's latest opus dopus to the bottom of the rack behind some lurid romance. The empty spaces are then filled with a major *œuvre* like *See You Later, A*, usually found at the bottom of the rack, too.

It takes but a few seconds, is hardly a felony, and if it turns out to be a misdemeanor, I'll tell the magistrate I had to strike a blow for literacy, normalcy, and orthodoxy before going, irreversibly, *hors de combat*. Sort of popping off before popping off, you know!

Sincerely,
Allan Carter, MD
Green Valley, Ariz.

Dear Doc: What a terrific idea! I promise not to tell.
Cordially, —WFB

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"If there is a better book on the 1984 presidential campaign, I haven't heard about it...."

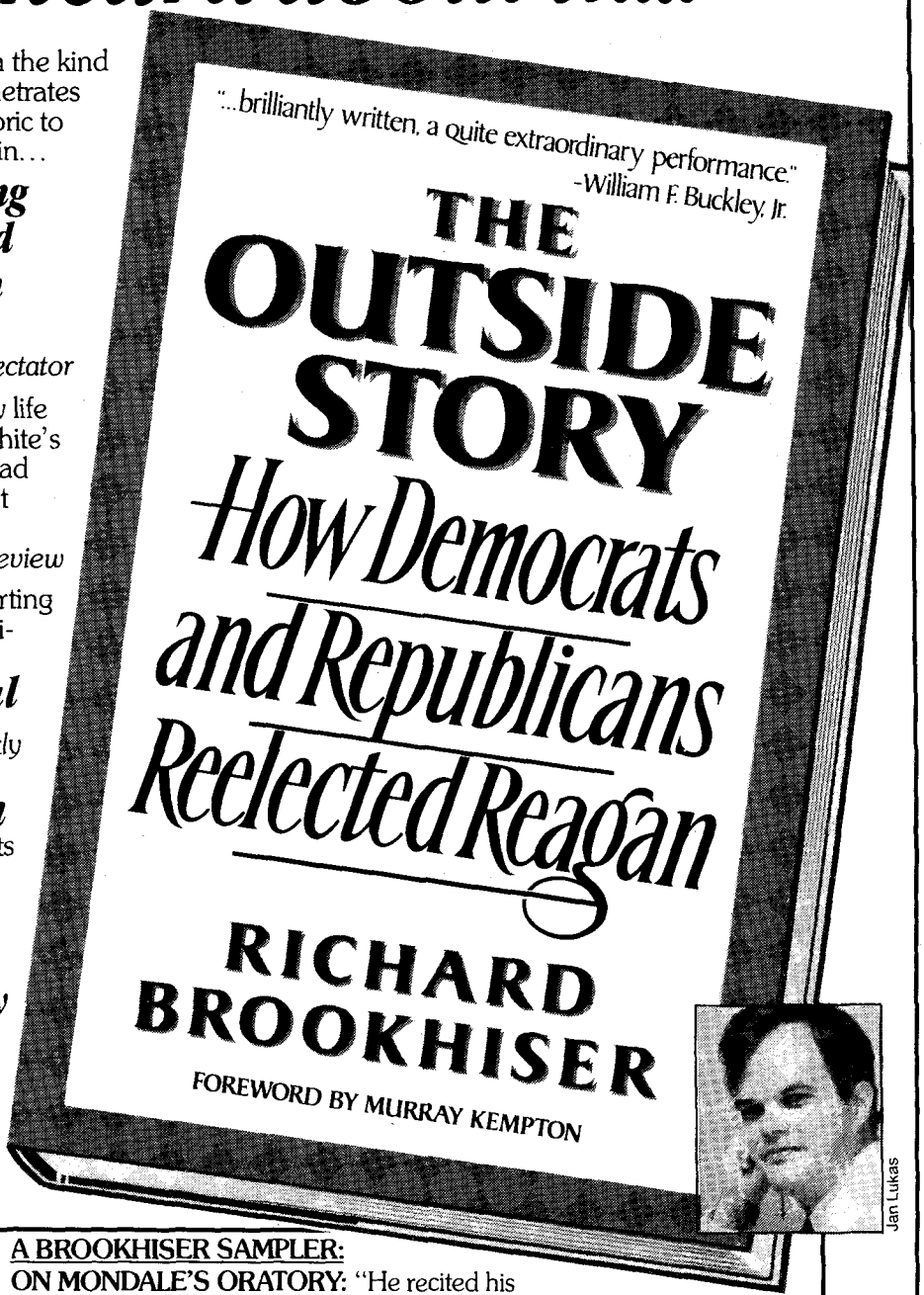
Richard Brookhiser writes with the kind of deconstructionist zeal that penetrates the woozy surface of stump rhetoric to isolate the hard nubs of fact within...

A witty and compelling argument for the good sense of the American people." –Terry Teachout, *The American Spectator*

"Brookhiser has pumped new life into what, with Theodore White's retirement from the scene, had become a dull if not dormant literary genre."
–Victor Gold, *National Review*

"Based on his own 'outside' reporting –a careful analysis of what candidates said and did–this is ***a fresh and thoughtful account."*** –*Publishers Weekly*

"Brilliantly written ....Although it goes over contests with which we are all familiar, it brings them to life by casting a penetrating eye and intelligence on things done and said.... ***A quite extraordinary performance."***
–William F. Buckley, Jr.


"...brilliantly written, a quite extraordinary performance."
-William F. Buckley, Jr.
THE OUTSIDE STORY
How Democrats and Republicans Reelected Reagan
RICHARD BROOKHISER
FOREWORD BY MURRAY KEMPTON

Jan Lukas

A BROOKHISER SAMPLER:
ON MONDALE'S ORATORY: "He recited his speech solemnly, like someone explaining the facts of life."
ON FERRARO'S SOPHISTICATION: "She pegged her discussion of Lebanon and Central America to trips she had taken there as a Congresswoman....She referred to them for the same reason Baudelaire wrote about sin, or Thomas Wolfe about Asheville: it was all they knew."
ON CUOMO'S ABORTION STAND: "He had found, in consensus and prudence, a way of having religion when he wanted it and not having it when he didn't."
ON U.S. FOREIGN POLICY: "Americans believe in the brotherhood of man or in the war of the worlds, not in balance of power."

A Dual Main Selection of The Conservative Book Club
DOUBLEDAY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WATCH JESSE RUN

JESSE JACKSON is getting into position for a second run for the Presidency. "Jackson is smarter than in '84," says a seasoned Democratic consultant here. "He's no longer a one-campaign phenomenon. He's got a better fundraising machine and knows what works with whites."

Among blacks, both rank-and-file and establishment, Jackson seems headed for broader acceptance. "As long as black establishment pols continue to play racial politics," says a GOP insider, "they'll have no choice but to support Jackson." Included in this group are Charles Rangel (D., N.Y.) and Mickey Leland (D., Tex.), along with Mayors Richard Arrington of Birmingham and Wilson Goode of Philadelphia. Although all four opposed Jackson's 1984 presidential bid, they were all present at his Rainbow Coalition parley in Washington this April, and all lauded him before a one-thousand-plus mixed audience. "Jesse Jackson is a pioneer," says John Conyers (D., Mich.), an ardent Jackson supporter from the start. "He is to blacks what JFK was to Catholics."

Though many older blacks fear Jackson's black-separatist inclinations and image, there's little doubt that to the younger generation he is a hero. He regularly visits inner-city high schools, urging black youths to make something of themselves. "Jesse feels a sense of responsibility to these young people," says Conyers. "By reaching out to them, he's hoping they'll lead productive lives and, in the process, vote for him."

Aware of Jackson's black strength, Democratic leaders are trying to woo him. This past March, the party adopted a significant rules change, responding to a Jackson nudge. To gain delegates a candidate will be required to garner only 15 per cent of the primary vote in a congressional district, not 20 per cent as in 1984. Jackson, unsatisfied still, wanted the cutoff to be 10 per cent, and asserted to fellow Democrats that the Republican Party "meets the constitutional requirement—one person, one vote." It is this kind of posturing that alienates so many, inside and outside the party.

Strategists in the Democratic Party insist that other presidential contestants must confront Jackson head-on whenever he makes any controversial or false statements. Notwithstanding this, when Jackson recently accused the Reagan Administration of "engaging in terrorism," Democrats stood mute —the whole sorry lot of them. Only Fritz Mondale has spoken out against Jackson, from the nothing-to-lose position of an also-ran. Speaking about Jackson's 1984 bid, Mondale observed in late April, "I recognized that he was the first significant black candidate for President, and I thought that he had to be dealt with with dignity and respect, and I did, but that was not reciprocated."

"Our presidential candidates will have to walk a fine line," says a Democratic pro, trying to justify the silence. "They've got to call Jesse on the issues and, at the same time, keep him in the fold so that he doesn't mount an independent challenge. If Jackson bolts the Democratic camp, there goes the black vote, and with it the election."

To complicate matters, Super Tuesday (12 Southern primaries on one day, March 8, 1988) will almost certainly give Jackson's campaign an early boost. In 1984, Jackson finished first or second in the primaries of seven of those same 12 states. Without Mondale (or Kennedy) in the running, Jackson is certain to pick up lots of delegates early. But as the primary season unfolds, fewer delegates will join Jesse, and his campaign will fizzle. Other Democratic contenders will then ignore him, just as GOP frontrunners George Bush and Jack Kemp intend to ignore Pat Robertson.

Notwithstanding the views of some pundits, Jackson's appeal to whites remains at best marginal. A number of whites attended the Rainbow Coalition's April convention. But they were all figures of the far Left like William Winpisinger (machinists' union), Kenneth T. Blaylock (American Federation of Government Employees), and Roger Allison (American Agricultural Movement). In point of fact, Jackson's Rainbow Coalition is not wedded to the Democratic Party at all. Outside the black community, Jackson appeals only to fringe groups.

EVEN JESSE'S white fringe is limited. "Don't expect him to draw support from Greenwich Village intellectuals," asserts a GOP senator and Jackson watcher. "The liberal intelligentsia is not at all convinced that he has anything to offer." Also, many in that sector are Jewish, and they recall all too well Jackson's anti-Semitic slurs ("Hymietown") and his association with the Reverend Louis Farrakhan, who attacked Judaism ("a dirty religion").

Clearly, Jackson will not win the Democratic presidential nomination in 1988. Yet on the local level he and his Rainbow Coalition will engineer deeper political inroads, where blacks already hold many key offices. Jackson knows that it takes time to construct a national political organization, and he also knows that his talents as an organizer are singularly unsuited to the task. So he settles for less. "We are in formation," he says. "Once we get to know each other, this will become a powerful movement." This movement, unorganized though it will probably remain, is yet powerful enough to inspire the Democratic establishment with dread. Jesse and his ragtag crew will stop the party from moving to the right, thereby keeping it out of step with the electorate. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

U.S. Government Silver Half Dollars

In accordance with its Stated Policy, The Liberty Collection hereby announces the initial release of 24,385 late 19th century and early 20th century U.S. Silver Liberty Half Dollars.

These historic United States Liberty Silver coins have been authenticated and certified. A special sale of these Fine Condition coins begins today.

The specifications for the sale of these authentic Silver Half Dollars are as follows:

Historical Data:

The United States Half Dollar, authorized by an Act of Congress on April 2, 1792, was not minted until December, 1794. The original coins weighed 208 grains of .8924 Fine Silver. Specifications were changed so that the three coins in this offering: the Liberty Head (also known as the Barber Half), the Walking Liberty, and the Franklin-Liberty Bell all measure 30.6mm in diameter and weigh 12.5 grams of .900 Fine Silver.

Coin Descriptions:

The *Liberty Head Half* (1892-1915) was designed by the U.S. Mint's celebrated chief engraver, Charles E. Barber. The obverse is distinguished by a bust of Miss Liberty surrounded by stars. The reverse features a depiction of an American Eagle and stars (very similar to the Great Seal of the United States).

The *Walking Liberty Half* (1916-1947) is regarded by many to be the most beautiful of all United States coins. Designed by A.A. Weinman, this striking Silver coin depicts Miss Liberty walking toward a radiant sun on the obverse and a powerful American Eagle on the reverse.

The third U.S. Silver Half Dollar in this release, the *Franklin-Liberty Bell Half* (1948-1963) represents the last Silver Series Half Dollar minted by the United States Government. Featuring both the Liberty bell and Benjamin Franklin, this historic coin was designed by John R. Shinnock.

Restrictions:

This special sale is restricted to U.S. citizens only. No dealer orders will be accepted. A strict limit of 10 sets of coins per customer will be imposed. All orders are subject to acceptance by The Liberty Collection.

Sale Prices:

Prices for Silver Half Dollars are as follows for *single coins:* The Liberty Head is priced at $29 per coin plus $2.50 postage and handling. The Walking Liberty is priced at $19 plus $2.50 for postage and handling. The Franklin-Liberty Bell is priced at $16 plus $2.50 for postage and handling.

COMPLETE SETS of three Silver Half Dollars (one Liberty Head, one Walking Liberty, and one Franklin-Liberty Bell) are priced at a total of $65 each plus $2.50 for postage and handling. (Total $67.50 per set)

Discounts:

Customer Discounts will apply to *sets only,* and there is a strict limit of ten sets per order. The following discounts are in effect:

Three Sets for $175.00 plus $5.00 (Total: $180.00)
Five Sets for $270.00 plus $5.00 (Total: $275.00)
Ten Sets for $490.00 plus $5.00 (Total: $495.00)

Order Instructions:

All mail orders *must* be accompanied by a check or money order for the full amount. Credit card customers are advised to place their orders by calling

TOLL FREE 1-800-228-2323

(24 hours a day)

No lottery mechanisms will be utilized for this sale. Orders will be filled on a first-come, first-served basis according to the *postmark date* of mail orders or the *time and date* of telephone orders. The Liberty Collection guarantees satisfaction with a 30-day, money-back policy. Certification of authenticity will accompany each U.S. Government Silver Half Dollar.

Check and money order customers should send their orders directly to:

The Liberty Collection
Dept. 10, 1718 Connecticut Ave. NW
Washington, DC 20009

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MOSCOW'S LIBYAN TOOL

IN THE great flood of international verbiage about the U.S. bombing of Libya, curiously little was said, either by politicians or in the media, about the true nature of Qaddafi's Soviet connection. Let me try to fill in some relevant details.

To the casual observer, Qaddafi has naturally seemed an eccentric phenomenon, self-generated, self-financed (through huge oil earnings, now mercifully dwindling), and above all self-motivated. True; and false. In its initial phase, the colonel's revolutionary-state philosophy claimed to be against both capitalism and Communism. Since then, he has veered decisively toward the latter, and, despite the Islamic and pan-Arab context, his political machine owes much to Leninist principles.

Quite early, Qaddafi manifested his taste for helping terrorists all over the place, without too much discrimination about ideology. Thus he was ready to send arms to the IRA, who could scarcely be described as Moslems.

The Soviets were not slow to spot this useful idiosyncrasy and to exploit it. In 1976, they concluded with Qaddafi's regime an arms deal that has been described as the biggest in history. The late President Sadat valued it at $12 billion: not bad for a desert nation of some three million, many of them nomads, with an army of 37,000. The net effect is that Libya has an inexhaustible supply of weaponry for use by anti-Western terrorists.

The Soviet connection goes much deeper, however. In the fall of 1980, Soviet officers masterminded the military end of Qaddafi's plan to invade Chad. The plan worked, even though Qaddafi soon withdrew under pressure from France and elsewhere. Significantly, "elsewhere" included Moscow itself, for fear of U.S. counter-intervention.

When Qaddafi visited Moscow in April 1981, the Soviets (if one is to believe Moscow Radio's Arabic service) committed themselves to assisting by all means the revolutionary development of "this young Arab country in the interest of the Libyan people and of the anti-imperialist Arab national liberation struggle."

Two years back, when a young British policewoman, Yvonne Fletcher, was gunned down from the Libyan "People's Bureau" in London, Qaddafi's regime got a bad press almost everywhere in the world. But not in Moscow, where the Soviet press managed to put the blame on Margaret Thatcher.

Do not overlook the close links between Libya and other Soviet-protected countries, especially Syria, South Yemen, and Ethiopia. In August 1981, the Libyan leader went to Aden for meetings with the heads of state of South Yemen and Ethiopia. The agenda was drawn up by a senior Soviet official, who helpfully guided the discussion in the desired direction of a military pact, duly signed. No need to ask where the arms would come from.

Today, Libya plays host to some seven thousand trainees in terrorism and guerrilla warfare (the dividing line between which is sometimes thin). Training is provided in twenty camps. As William Casey, Director of Central Intelligence, put it in a widely reported speech on April 7, Gorbachev is seeking to establish what he called "bridgeheads" in Libya and other countries in furtherance of "creeping imperialism."

Against this background, it matters little that in the fullest sense Libya probably is not a Soviet satellite. I don't suppose Qaddafi necessarily consults the Kremlin each time he contemplates a naughty deed. More important is that without Soviet backing, Qaddafi would not amount to much.

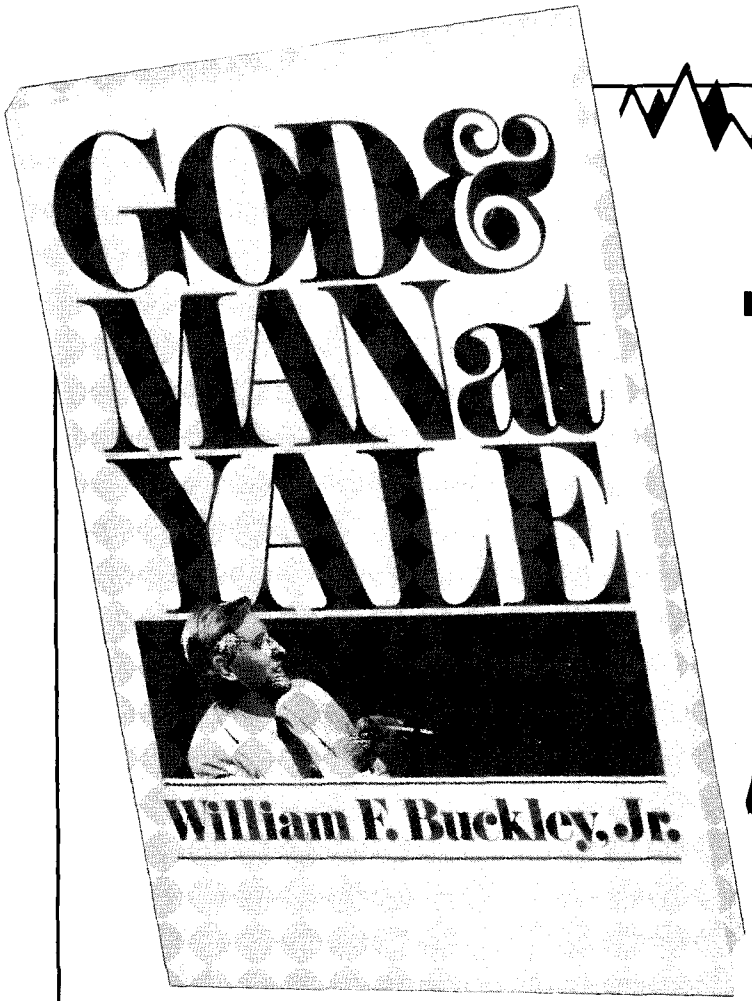
Given the facts and the history, I never questioned whether the British prime minister did the right thing when she allowed the Americans to go ahead and use their British-based F-111s to blast Libyan targets.

It doesn't follow, however, that the American raid was necessarily appropriate to the problem of Libya as a terrorist base. Had Qaddafi himself received a direct hit, I should be revising these words, but the chances that he would were surely remote. Ironically and cruelly, the likelihood is strong that the much publicized "collateral damage" and civilian deaths, especially that of Qaddafi's adopted daughter, were caused not by stray American bombs but by misdirected Libyan missiles, thrown off course by the sophisticated American anti-radar devices. Even if this is confirmed beyond a doubt, the propaganda damage has been done and probably cannot be undone: In the eyes of millions of Western readers and viewers, the Americans were guilty. Perception is all.

BOMBING MAY weaken an adversary but does not get rid of him. Only a well-planned coup on the ground can do that. The Americans did it in Guatemala in 1954, the British in Oman in 1970, the British and Americans jointly in Iran in 1953. Grenada is a tribute to the power of an overwhelming concentration of force.

This is not the only lesson to be digested from the April crisis. Another is one of the great standard fallacies: that in order to end Qaddafi-type terrorism you have to get at the root cause, which is held to be the Palestine problem. The ineffable Edward Heath, never slow to attack the present prime minister, duly regurgitated this one in the House of Commons. Alas, this quite ignores the fact that Qaddafi is involved in helping many terrorists other than Palestinians: the Basque ETA and Philippine Moros as well as the IRA. Forget the Palestine canard: Terrorists are terrorists. If you take away one of their sacred causes, they will find others. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



HERE'S THE BOOK THAT STARTED IT ALL!

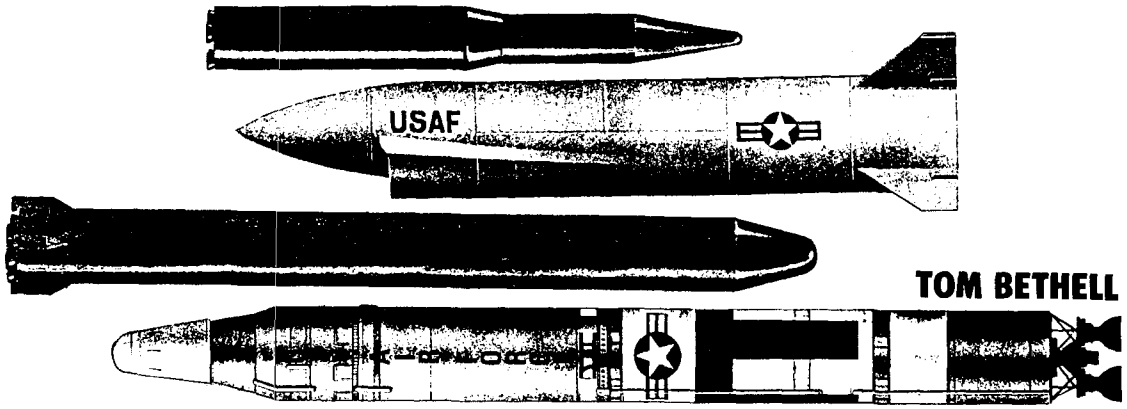
Things have never been the same since William F. Buckley Jr.'s *God and Man at Yale* first hit the bookstands. The effect was electrifying. It became an almost overnight best-seller and vaulted its young author into national prominence. Few books have aroused such a *hostile* reaction from the liberal media—while at the same time gaining the "culprit" so many loyal fans.

Now this extraordinary book (a conservative classic) is once again available in a handsome new edition, complete and unabridged—plus a brilliant new introduction (almost a small book in itself) that updates the whole story and makes this edition even more valuable than the original.

As John Chamberlain noted at the time: "Mr. Buckley's chief sin, as this book will make plain to the discerning, is to hold certain truths to be self-evident: that the free economy is better for both the individual and the group than the 'planned' or the controlled economy; that man has a definite nature, which includes intimations of a moral and religious character . . ." Powerful stuff for the dominant liberal establishment in 1951 when the book was published—powerful stuff for America today!

God and Man at Yale is, in fact, a conservative milestone. Now, while they last, you can get your own personal copy with this special offer. Just extend your present subscription to *National Review* for another year (no matter when it expires), or enter a new subscription, at the regular yearly rate of $34, and you get the book FREE and POSTPAID! Don't miss this special offer. Fill out the card facing this page and send it to us today.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



TOM BETHELL

WHAT'S WRONG WITH

NUCLEAR SUPERIORITY?

"Whether the United States should be willing to accept a position of parity in military power with the Soviet Union over the longer run can (and should) be debated."

—Secretary of Defense Weinberger, Foreign Affairs, *Spring 1986*

"SOMETIME SOON," Michael Kinsley wrote in the May 12 issue of *The New Republic*, "an influential conservative journal like *Commentary* or *Policy Review* (or perhaps the *Wall Street Journal* editorial page) is going to publish an article titled something like 'What's Wrong with Nuclear Superiority?' As the official explanations for this nation's nuclear policy get more and more implausible, and as conservative intellectual machismo continues to ferment, someone is going to lose his '*pas devant les enfants*' scruples and say it outright."

Just about one week before Mr. Kinsley wrote these words, I lost my scruples and out it came, just as he predicted (a little late). The appalling thing is that I blurted it out not in front of children but in Moscow, no less, in front of twenty or more fairly influential Soviet journalists (or press agents, as they would be better called). I was with a group of twenty U.S. "opinion leaders" (as we were called), mostly journalists, mostly conservative.

On the other side of the table from us were many worthies from *Pravda*, TASS, Novosti Press, and suchlike media. One, Valentin Zorin, was introduced to us as "the number-one anchorman of Soviet television: a mixture of Barbara Walters and Walter Cronkite, who recently presented Edward Kennedy on Soviet television." Also on hand were Nikolai Bragin, chief political commentator of *Pravda*, Spartak Beglov, chief editorial writer of Novosti Press, and many others. (You may not have heard their names, but a U.S. Embassy representative was impressed by the list.)

Our tour leader, Larry Moffitt of World Media Association, had requested meetings with any number of Soviet academics, officials, and Communist Party members, on up to Mikhail Gorbachev. But, as it turned out, our only audience was with these "journalists." For the rest of our tour we were confined, officially and by Intourist, to pre-revolutionary Russia—Czardom restored, icons galore. So we had been fermenting intellectually for days in the socialist homeland, and by the time of our Moscow encounter we were pretty bubbly.

At the Union of Soviet Journalists' Building we were shown upstairs to a room with a long table where all these comrades were already crowded in and waiting for us. Mineral water from Georgia was thoughtfully provided. Arnold Beichman, sitting next to me, pointed out their expensive suits. "More expensive than ours," I said, as we metaphorically strapped on our armor. There were introductions, a few playful parries, and finally someone said, *En garde!*

An unsmiling Chernenko look-alike said: "We cannot understand the philosophy of the Reagan Administration on the continuation of nuclear tests." Of course he wasn't the only one. He could have quoted Michael Kinsley. Senator Kennedy had been "introduced" by Mr. Zorin on Soviet television to make precisely the same point. Why didn't we (the U.S.) give up testing, thus allowing the world to breathe a little easier, etc. *Moscow News* had the same suggestion on its front page. ("The USSR is again giving the U.S. Administration a chance to take a responsible decision, to end nuclear explosions.")

Incidentally, when in the Soviet Union you get the feeling, eerily strong at times, that the real lineup in the Protracted Conflict is not the Soviet Union *v.* the United States. It is U.S. liberals plus Soviet Communists *v.* ordinary Americans plus the Russian people. Or, more simply, the Socialist Camp *v.* the rest of the world. You often find in airports and Intourist hotels English-language pamphlets on such issues as nuclear testing, Afghanistan, and so on. I came across one on Strategic Defense, *Stellar Delusions*, by Gennadi Gerasimov, a quite wittily written seventy-page booklet. It was composed of anti-SDI arguments exclusively drawn from U.S. sources, including Senator Kennedy, Kurt Vonnegut, Eugene Rostow, Harold Brown, Isaac Asimov, Strobe Talbott, the *New York Times*, and many others.

The Chernenkoish-looking gentleman didn't cite Kennedy as his authority, but he might well have. Larry Moffitt had warned us earlier to polish up our ripostes on such "peace and disarmament" themes, and now the moment had arrived. There was a tiny,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

awkward silence, and for a moment I thought we would lose the round by default. Thank God we had Dixy Lee Ray on our side. Having been governor of Washington state and chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, she obviously knew a thing or two about nuclear testing.

In effect what she did was to parry a disguised ideological thrust ("Why does the U.S. persist in seeking world domination through nuclear superiority?" was the unstated question) with a technical, "pragmatic" riposte. Tests are carried out "to establish the reliability of our nuclear inventory," and so on. She made several such points, even getting in a deft reference to the Soviet nuclear reactor that fell from the sky onto Canada in 1978. It was a professional response, as befitted a former U.S. official, and it was certainly more than sufficient to silence her interlocutor.

But it occurred to me that there was an entirely different way of approaching this subject—the "amateur" approach, if you will—and certainly a more ideological approach. The suggestion that we test no more is really a veiled recommendation that technological development in the nuclear field be frozen as of 1986. Obviously new weapons could not be deployed without tests. Equally obviously, the Soviets can rely on their implicit allies in the U.S. to ensure that there would be no subsequent U.S. infringement of such an agreement. And there would be no such internal watch-dog apparatus to inhibit the Soviets.

Meanwhile, new technological developments would keep on occurring—originating mainly in the U.S. private sector, but also in Japan and even perhaps in Western Europe—without regard to the piece of parchment signed and sealed in Geneva. So in signing such a document we would have slipped a pair of handcuffs on ourselves and (as it were) handed the keys to American liberals for safekeeping. This, unfortunately, is what we did when we signed the 1972 ABM Treaty, thereby agreeing that the U.S. is safer if exposed to nuclear attack. (Somehow in the next few years we are going to have to get those keys back and remove the handcuffs if we are to defend ourselves with hardware rather than parchment. I can tell you right now that the liberals aren't going to give them back without a tremendous fight.)

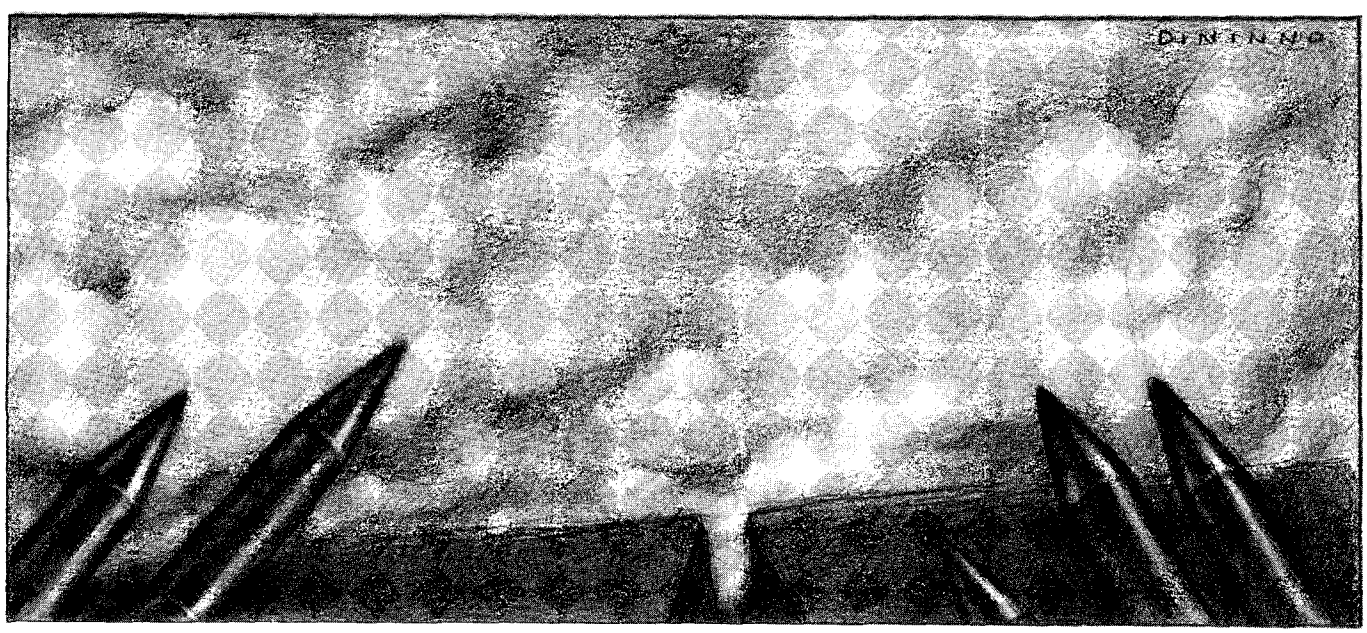
It is strikingly apparent to the first-time visitor to the Soviet Union that the U.S. has a huge technological lead over the Soviets. Technological superiority is the fruit of liberty, just as an essentially slave society is capable of little more than a kind of pharaonic brute force. Governments can carry out their pharaonic plans only if individuals are prevented from carrying out their own plans—a one-sentence synopsis of F. A. Hayek's *The Road to Serfdom*.

The U.S. has enjoyed this technological lead since the invention of the atom bomb, indeed throughout this century. Leftist critics who maintain that the U.S. has consistently "gone first" in the development of armaments are in one sense correct. We have mostly made the first moves and the Soviets have usually been struggling to catch up. (Possibly the Soviets did enjoy a brief lead in rocket technology in the 1950s, thanks to their capture of a team of rocket scientists in East Germany in 1945.) The alleged "bomber gap" and "missile gap" of the Fifties and early Sixties were, in retrospect, misleading Pentagon estimates by analysts looking for an increased share of congressional appropriations. All perfectly true.

It is also true that in the post-Sputnik period most observers in the U.S., conservative as well as liberal, believed that a state-controlled society was destined to outstrip a free one, however much we may dislike the thought. Congresswoman Clare Boothe Luce called Sputnik's beep "an intercontinental outer-space raspberry to a decade of American pretensions that the American way of life was a gilt-edged guarantee of our national superiority." Music to Pentagonal ears! It is really only recently that it has sunk in, as an irrefutable proposition, that the land of the free is also, to contradict Lincoln Steffens, the land of the future.

All perfectly true, but the inference that we are therefore to be blamed for the "arms race," and the full litany of rebuke that follows therefrom (plowshares into swords; hungry mouths unfed; world threatened with extinction), is entirely unwarranted. One might as well blame a man for starting a race because he keeps running a few paces ahead of a hungry bear. Is he to blame for a "grizzly race"?

If we slow down, the Soviets will catch us. The comparative advantages



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the two countries are so different. Ours is agility; theirs is mass. We are David; they Goliath. The argument that the U.S. should not take its opportunity to enjoy military superiority is analogous to saying that David should have forgone his slingshot and struggled with a mighty sword. While I was in the Soviet Union it kept occurring to me that the technological dynamism of the U.S. is like a wild chariot behind which the mummified Communists are dragged against their will. "Stop!" they cry out. "Please stop, so that we can catch our breath." The liberals heard their cry and set up arms-control negotiations to act as a brake on the chariot. But if we do stop the chariot the Communist mummies will heave a sigh of relief—then deliver a fatal blow to the passengers.

It is true that the Communists would not on their own initiate new technology. They could not. Communism is a nineteenth-century idea, and to a surprising degree Communist countries are nineteenth-century in practice. Their system is inert. They wouldn't change at all if there were not capitalist countries to compete with. But the problem (from the point of view of the arms-controllers) is that the U.S. *government* does not initiate most of the new technology either. If governments were the source of new ideas, maybe governments really could get together and agree to ban them. But they are not. New ideas and new technology come from the private sector of free societies. It follows that if we do not make use of this new technology, the Soviets will. This is so because it is impossible to stop them from buying it, stealing it, or receiving the blueprints free from defectors.

In this connection there is much confusion about the Strategic Defense Initiative (a confusion duly reflected in the Novosti pamphlet). It is not something that will in due course yield technological "spinoffs." It is itself a spinoff from the computer revolution, which makes possible the rapid computation needed to hit a missile in space. Since the computer revolution cannot be stopped, Star Wars can only be stopped bureaucratically or legislatively or diplomatically, and at great peril to our future, because technologically it cannot be stopped.

These, then, were some of the macho thoughts fermenting in my mind as we sat opposite the Soviet press agents. What I actually said went something like this (I have no transcript). "I want to give a more philosophical answer to the question about nuclear tests," I said. (For "philosophical" read "ideological," if you wish.) "Since the U.S. is a free society, we do enjoy a considerable technological advantage over the centrally planned Soviet society—in which most people must do the will of others. Why should we give up this advantage? Why should we put handcuffs on ourselves? What advantage would it be for us?"

New ideas and new technology come from the private sector of free societies. It follows that if we do not make use of this new technology, the Soviets will

The response was interesting. Two or three times one of their people returned to what I had said, almost intrigued, as though I had deposited for their benefit some creedal nugget of great potential value to them; some crucial admission that they could triumphantly flourish for all the world to see. Ah . . . so you admit . . . so now you are admitting . . . But they couldn't quite get hold of it. They circled about, but in the end I think they could not find the nugget they were looking for.

I realized at that point the tremendous advantage conferred by arguing on philosophical (ideological) rather than pragmatic grounds. The pragmatist almost inevitably accepts his rival's principles and looks for a merely practical objection to them. This point was well illustrated in the same discussion when Arnold Beichman asked the Soviets why one or two U.S. newspapers were not available in our Moscow hotel. They tried a symmetrical riposte (Can you get *Pravda* at the Waldorf?), but that didn't work (you can get Soviet papers in New York). They tried to raise various practical objections, based on cost, demand, and so on. At this point they looked ridiculous. But suppose they had answered as follows: "Because we don't believe in capitalism, we believe that capitalist newspapers impede the task of socialist construction, and we don't want them in our country." Then what? I don't think we could have laid a glove on them.

Now perhaps we can see why arms-control negotiations not only do us no good but always seem to land us in trouble. (Once again President Reagan has agreed to cut up Poseidon submarines in order to stay within the SALT II treaty that he campaigned against and then accused the Soviets of violating.) Arms-control talks are by their nature based on a false premise of symmetry. As a result of participating in them, if for no other reason, our diplomats never make claims about a difference in principle between the United States and the Soviet Union. And we certainly never insist that because we are free and democratic we do not constitute a threat to international peace. Nor, of course, do we insist that we should utilize our technological lead.

Arms-control talks contradict the idea that the Soviet government's ideology is a threat to peace. (If so, why sit down to talk with such people?) Talks actually establish the Soviets as the co-guarantor of world peace, when in fact they are the sole threat to it. Arms-control agreements are also based on the absurdity that our security—presumed to be weak or non-existent in the absence of agreements—depends on their consent. (They have to sign the agreements.)

The United States should break away from arms-control negotiations once and for all. One or two people connected with the Reagan Administration have admitted privately that no good can come of them; but they defend the "process" on the grounds that people feel comforted by it; as though we should believe that world peace is enhanced by deception. Do the people not have the "right to know" the truth, which is that the problem existing between the two countries is not militarily quantitative but politically qualitative? (Kinsley concedes, correctly if unhelpfully for his own case, that "numbers of weapons" are an "unimportant measure in the nuclear age." Try telling that to Paul Nitze.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A further and most important objection to the arms-control "process" is that it undoubtedly leads to an excessive accumulation of inappropriate weapons. Notice that the Pentagon does not really object to arms control: Talks, stretching forever out into the future, create an endless rationale for keeping aging weapons and for accumulating even more of those that already exist. They might be useful as bargaining chips should the "other side" agree to give up something too. The result is a protracted fattening up of the military, like an endless Mardi Gras in preparation for a Lent that never arrives. At first sight this may seem to enhance military security, but in retrospect procurement decisions made in the light of arms control look distorted, and probably cost the country a lot more money than would otherwise have been spent. Tens of billions of dollars have been spent, for example, on the MX missile. If in the 1970s we had gone ahead with the point defense of our Minuteman silos, instead of heeding the foolish advice that resulted in the ABM Treaty, probably today we would not need the MX at all.

Kinsley argues that if the Soviets believe "we may soon achieve nuclear superiority, they will be under pressure to make their moves before we get there. In the interim, the world will become a vastly more dangerous place." Rarely is this point so candidly acknowledged by the advocates of nuclear "balance." It is a polite way of acknowledging that the Soviets might well attack a country that has the temerity to upgrade its weapons systems. Is this the kind of country we should be at the bargaining table with? Kinsley feels it would be prudent to avoid so provoking them. "The world," he says, would be a more dangerous place, when what he really means is that the Kremlin is *already* a dangerous place. Does he feel the same way about the White House?

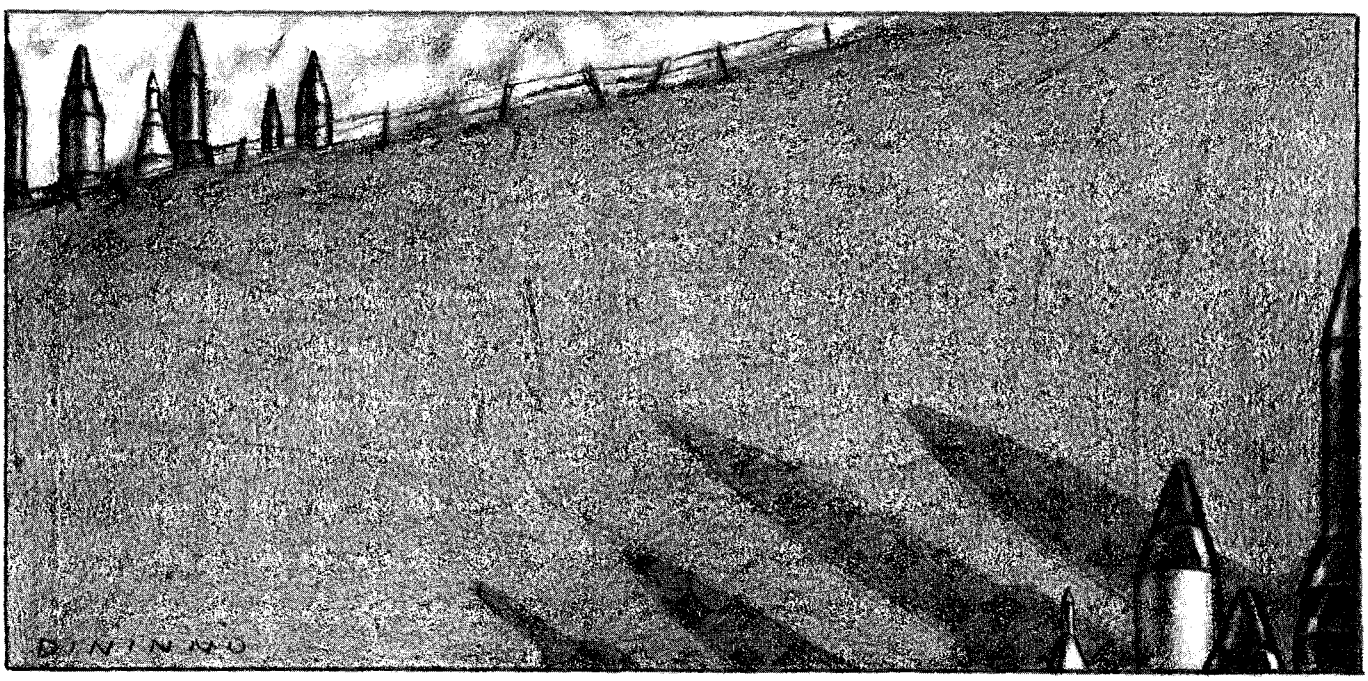
The Pentagon does not really object to arms control: Talks create an endless rationale for keeping aging weapons and for accumulating even more

No, he doesn't. Further on, Kinsley comes right out and acknowledges the real asymmetry between the United States and the Soviet Union that is fatal to his argument. He writes:

> The dream of American nuclear superiority is . . . reverse Finlandization. Without lifting a finger, we could prevent the suppression of Solidarity, reverse the invasion of Afghanistan, etc. But Finlandization depends, ultimately, on a fear that one side might "go nuclear" in pursuit of political ends. And —much to our credit—the fear of such ruthlessness is inherently less believable about the United States than about the Soviet Union.

Well, well, well. They're more dangerous than we are, because they are more willing to make a first strike against us than we are against them. But still we shouldn't be contemplating nuclear superiority. Oh, no. That would be terribly rash. We should instead "minimize [their] fear" that they will not be able to "retaliate" if we just do happen to "strike first." Kinsley rests his case by resorting to the perspective of the Soviet official who believes everything he has been told (by people like Kinsley) about greedy, imperialistic capitalists.

Considering the aggressive nature of Communism, its history of expansion, the buildup of Soviet arms, and the simultaneous record of Soviet deception and lies, it is fantastic that one should even have to make the case for nuclear superiority; and do so, I might add, with a sense of temerity and isolation. Imagine that in 1940 Franklin Delano Roosevelt had said the "arsenal of democracy" should seek only military parity with the Nazis. If today in its struggle with the Soviet Union the United States is not willing to make use of its competitive advantage, the dividend of liberty, then assuredly we will not survive. □



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GANG WARFARE IN CHICAGO

One flew into O'Hare with a certain degree of apprehension, not so much that Delta flight 245 would be blown up by a crazed Levantine as that something decidedly untoward would happen when Conservatives (Old Believers) engaged Neoconservatives (Liberals Mugged by Reality) at the Philadelphia Society's national meeting at the Drake Hotel in Chicago. It was some reassurance to discover upon arrival at the hotel that weapons were not being carried openly.

Now, for some time there has been a good deal of private growling among certain Old Believers, and the Spring 1986 number of *The Intercollegiate Review* had provided a sort of backgrounder on the discontents that would be aired in Chicago. One could assemble a bill of particulars. It appeared that "big C" Conservatives, who think of themselves as going back to Kirk, Voegelin, Buckley, Weaver, Meyer, and, of course, Goldwater, consider with a good deal of anger that neoconservatives: 1) Aren't religious enough. Professor George Panichas, of the University of Maryland, calls for "spiritual exercises" and a "spiritual and visionary conservatism." 2) Are "welfare-state Democrats" thinly disguised, who have captured media attention, dominate some conservative institutions, and have even invaded NATIONAL REVIEW (Paul Gottfried, formerly of Rockford College, now at the *Washington Times*). 3) Do not share formative experiences with real conservatives—e.g., the Goldwater movement—and use an alien vocabulary mostly drawn from the social sciences: "These refugees now speak in our name, but the language they speak is the same one they always spoke . . . It contains no words for the things we value. Our estate has been taken over by an impostor, just as we were about to inherit" (Clyde Wilson, University of South Carolina). 4) Have been alarmingly successful in getting jobs and establishing priorities within the Reagan Administration: The "Old Guard cannot help but catch on the wind from the Potomac a faint but unmistakable odor of opportunistic betrayal" (Clyde Wilson), and the Administration's "surviving reserves of conservatism" might as well be concentrated on judicial appointments (M. E. Bradford, University of Dallas).

What Differences?

When the symposiasts came together in the Drake Hotel's spacious Walton Room, the atmosphere seemed to hint at ancestral voices prophesying war. Professor Stephen Tonsor, of the University of Michigan, made the Old Believers' case with a sort of pit-bull fury. The neoconservatives are modernists, secular, baptized in the "fiery brook" (pun on Feuerbach) and cut off from God, many of them former Marxists. Amusingly, Tonsor imagined that if Trotsky had not been axed in Mexico he might well now be sitting at the Hoover and publishing in *Commentary*. Tonsor attacked Werner Dannhauser for recommending Nietzsche and, in fact, put the line of civil war between Burke and Nietzsche. He accused the neoconservatives of failing to locate themselves in the "structure of reality." Modernism, like Mann's Leverkuhn, is Nietzschean and demonic. Conservatives have been baptized not in the Feuerbach but in the Jordan. Tonsor recommended a politics of prayer.

During the question period, Arnold Beichman arose to inquire with no little indignation whether Tonsor was rejecting Burnham, Chambers, Meyer, Orwell, Koestler, and Paul Johnson. *Answer:* Bigod, he was. Replied Tonsor: "Would you accept an ex-Nazi?" Such people were flawed in judgment.

Paul Gottfried also blasted the neoconservatives as content with the welfare state, as Democrats happy until McGovern, and as global democrats and secularists whose democratic universalism is reminiscent of Trotskyist utopianism and the cafeterias of the City College of New York.

Burton Pines of Heritage, William Kristol of the Department of Education, and Leslie Lenkowsky of the Institute for Educational Affairs replied more gently.

Lenkowsky argued with a good deal of persuasiveness that a straw man had been assaulted before our very eyes. Soft on the welfare state? Who had done much of the serious, damaging analysis of the effects of welfare? The neoconservatives. Who was doing most of the serious work on crime? The neoconservatives. Nor is the support for democracy abroad by Jeane Kirkpatrick or Sidney Hook utopian: It is measured and prudential.

Burton Pines gave a wide-ranging and ecumenical analysis, maintaining that though some differences do persist they are narrowing, and in fact they never did inconvenience a common opposition to the depredations of the 1970s: retreat abroad; inflation and across-the-board erosion of standards at home. The differences that remain are largely tonal. Neoconservatives tend to be academic and cosmopolitan, but they nevertheless have come to appreciate the movement activists and even the fundamentalists. Reagan's *style* has in itself been an important reconciling force. We all want lower taxes, less government, privatization, and Soviet rollback.

William Kristol, Irving's son, embodied the spirit of collegiality in a relaxed and undeniably conservative performance. He might have cited William Bennett as a neoconservative who is at once religious and grounded in philosophy and the social sciences, perhaps baptized in both rivers, but Kristol handled the inevitable hot-potato

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

question on abortion with an aplomb that seemed to satisfy all.

M. Stanton Evans spoke with great charm, bringing the discussion back from personalities to principles—from who was sitting in HQ while we were at the front lines, to what it is that we're fighting for. In Evans's view, not only conservative principles but "all of the distinctive values of the West" are grounded in our Biblical, Judaeo-Christian heritage: the limited state (derived from the king as under God and under the law); the dignity of the individual (because created in God's image); the social contract (a secular rendition of the idea of covenant). If the neo-cons tend to be better on questions to which the answers are essentially Aristotelian—issues that have to do with the "proper affirmative uses of the state," such as internal order, criminal justice, foreign policy—well, there's plenty of work to be done in those fields, and we can welcome any help they give, while always hoping that they are "working their way back" to our common heritage.

Finally, Brigitte Berger of Wellesley offered a fine insight out of Weberian sociology. Old Right conservatives tend to be "value-rational" and direct their efforts toward realizing their values in modes of behavior. They admire modes, not goals; indeed, the mode *is* the goal. Neoconservatives, in contrast, are "goal-rational" and analyze options and consequences in achieving particular policy goals. Neoconservatives have a "cognitive style" the academy finds more acceptable.

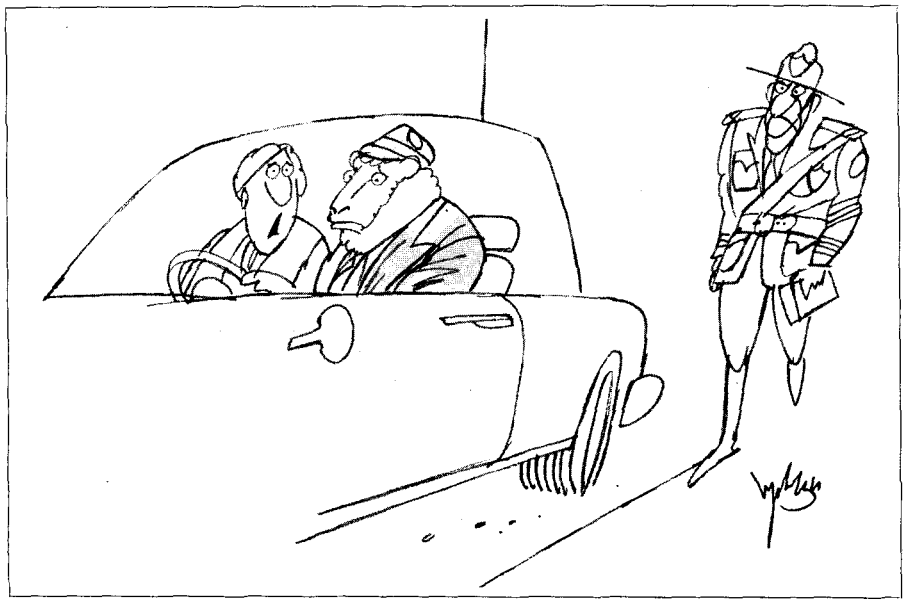
She made one other striking point. In the 1960s, many liberals *changed* cognitive styles. They became "value-rational" and moved left, valuing *being left* more than achieving realizable goals. The defect of the goal-rational cognitive style, she observed, is that it does not provide a meaning for life. This seemed worth meditating upon.

Howls arose from the audience to the effect that Professor Berger was trying to define the Old Right out of meaningful existence via sociologese. But she had a point anyway.

At lunch on Saturday, M. E. Bradford delivered some profound reflections on our need to challenge liberal rhetoric with our own. His speech was not part of the con/neo-con symposium, but what he said did reflect in a way on that argument. Speaking of liberals, not neo-cons, he argued that we continue to use *their* teleocratic "god words"—such as "peace," "compassion," and "tolerance"—to crippling effect. Thus "peace" always puts the President on the defensive when he must use force. "Protecting the nation" would not. "Compassion" now means benefits from Leviathan no matter what the cost to the general good, as if need established a right. "Tolerance" means avoiding the charge of "racism" at virtually any cost to our constitutional system or other goods and principles. What we need instead, he argued, is a rhetoric of the Common Good that asserts the larger over lesser goods.

In a sense the charge being made against the neo-cons was that they were more interested in policy than principle. But it seems perfectly clear to me that most neo-cons would accept Bradford's plea for a politics of the common good. Indeed when, several years back, Jeane Kirkpatrick felt she had to explain her resistance to joining the Republican Party, she offered precisely the objection that Republicans, including free-market conservatives, lacked a vision of the public good.

As the proceedings concluded, one had the sense that it is past time certain Old Right conservatives stopped griping about the neos. Yes, yes, Hayek and Voegelin were there first, and yes, many battles were fought long ago, and yes, the Old Rightists sacrificed career and status while future neo-cons were still basking in the establishment's approval, and yes, the Old Right may not have received as many federal posts as it would like, and yes, some neo-cons behave as if they had invented the wheel. But many foolish things are being said in anger.



"For heaven's sake, don't look so sheepish!"

Count Our Blessings

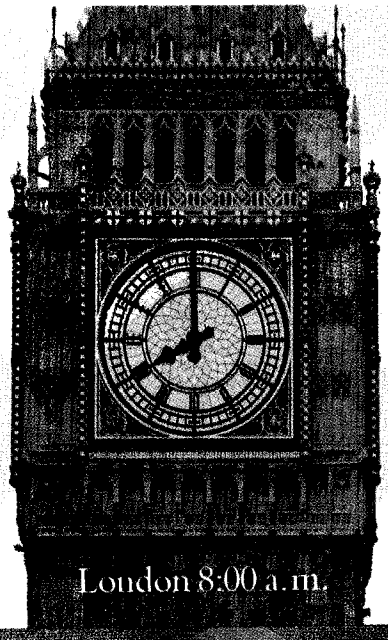
FOR ONE thing, as far as this Catholic conservative is concerned, the Old Right assertion of Christian claims seems unduly aggressive, more a weapon or password than is at all appropriate in a political context. Furthermore, the neoconservatives in my opinion should be embraced, congratulated, celebrated. I have known Norman Podhoretz for years and have read everything he has written, including his new book of essays, *The Bloody Crossroads: Where Literature and Politics Meet*. Podhoretz continues to wage a splendid campaign for sanity and decency on the cultural and political front, and in point of courage and intelligence he need give place to no one. Whose admiration for William Bennett is qualified in the least? The man is a genuine hero. Has Irving Kristol not been an articulate force for the good? Is Elliott Abrams—who spoke, very impressively, at the Friday night dinner—not on the front line with regard to Central America?

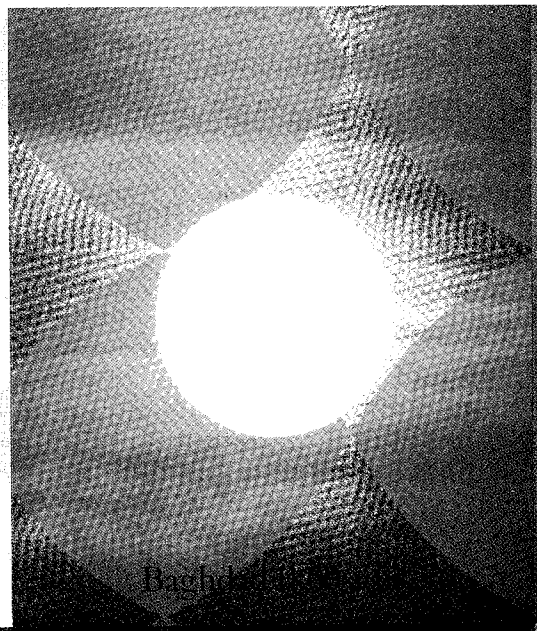
It is time to count our blessings.

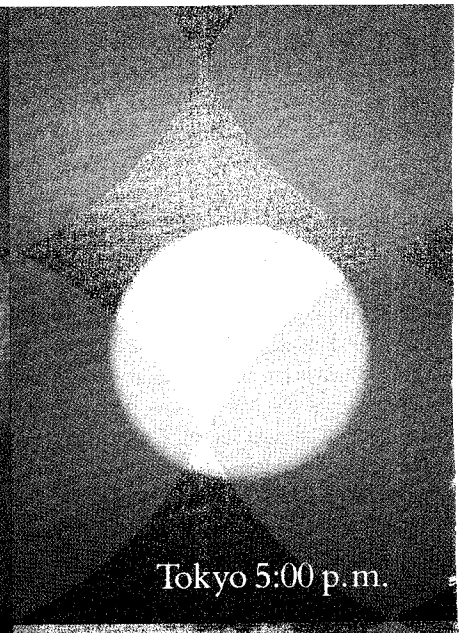
And, *mirabile dictu*, the Philadelphia Society, during the 1987 Bicentennial year, is actually going to meet in Philadelphia—thus testing at first hand W. C. Fields's opinion of the City of Brotherly Love. □

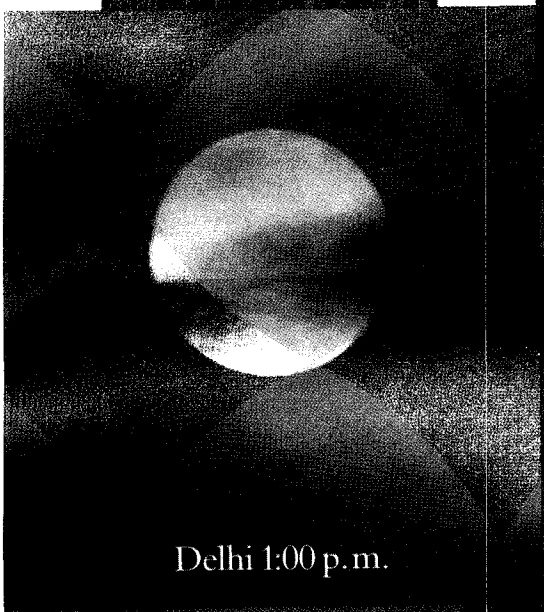
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

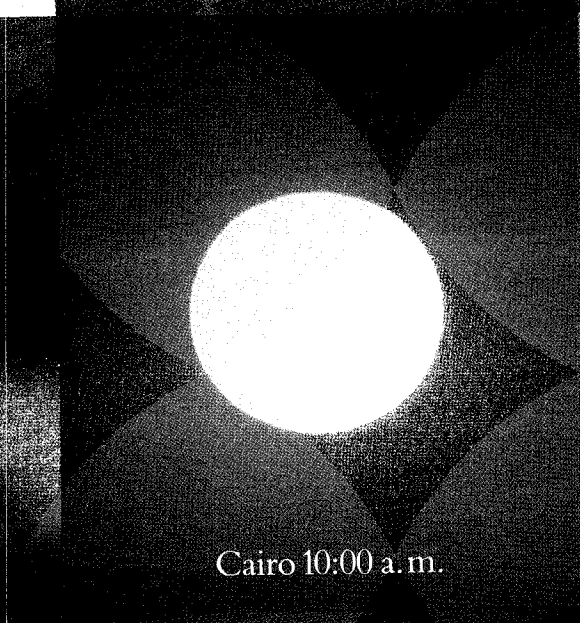
The sun never sets

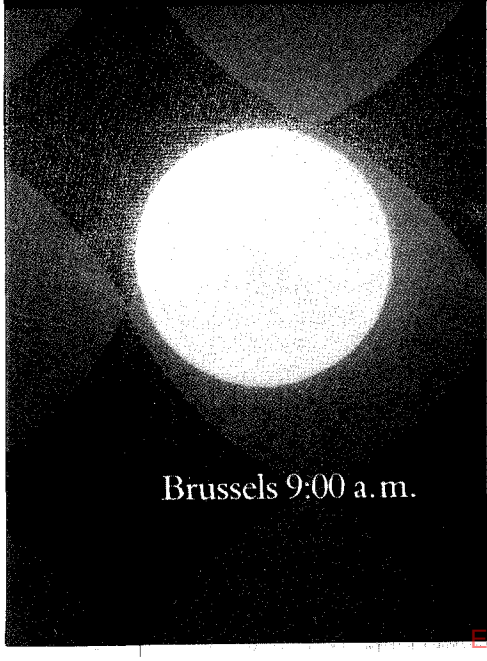


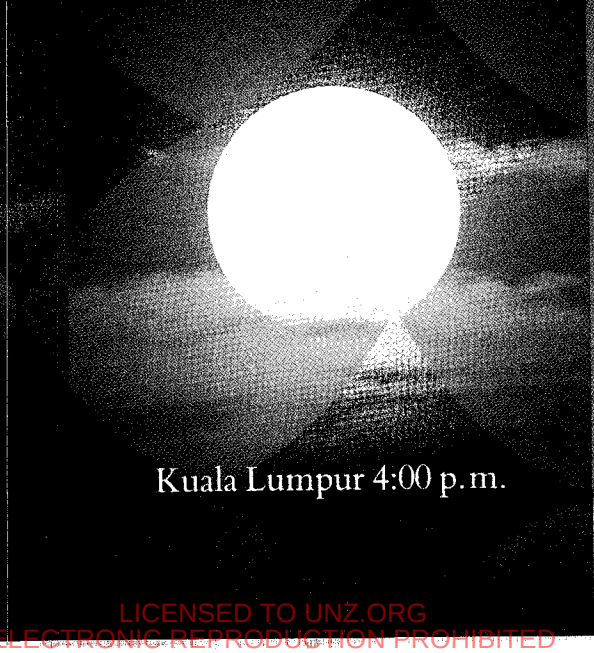


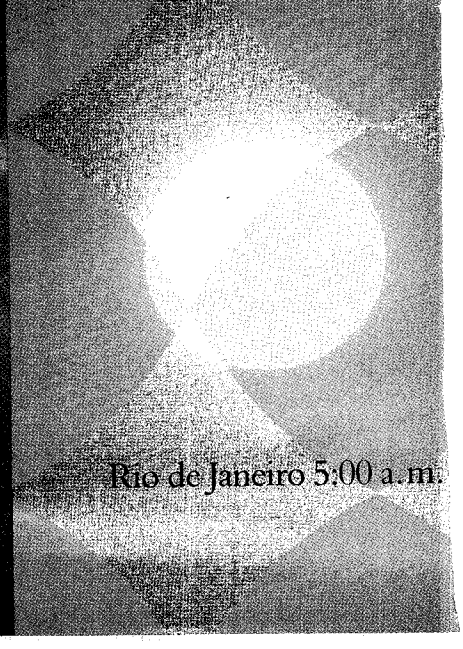








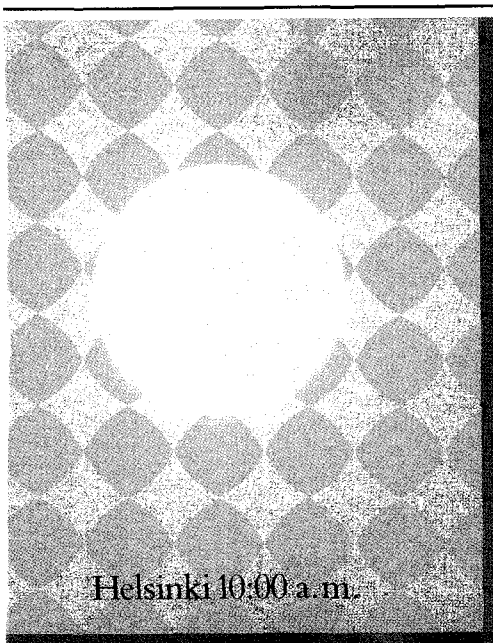


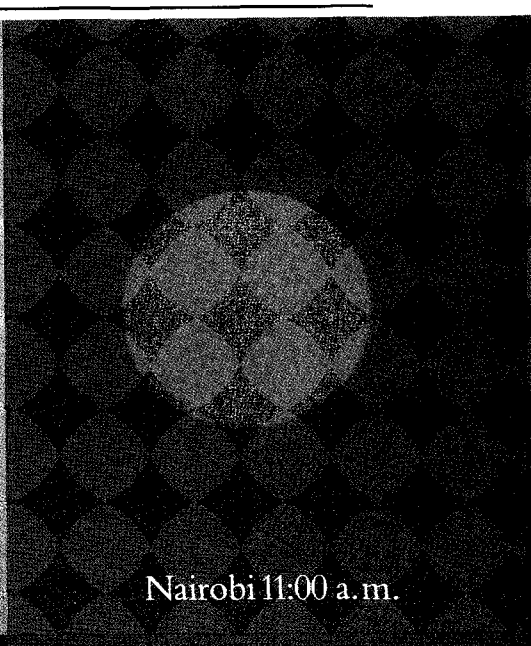


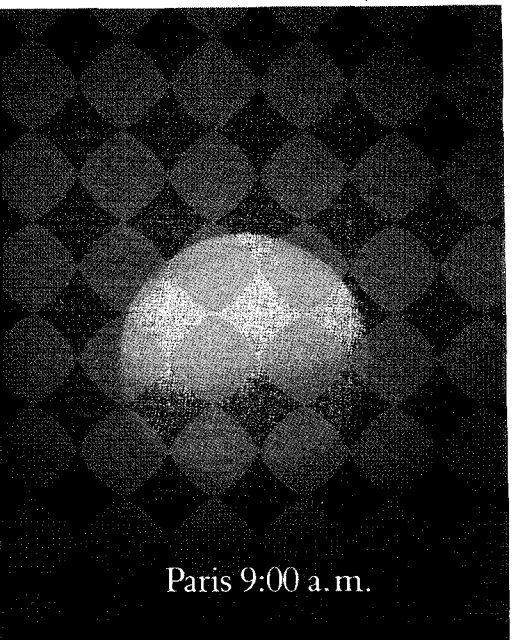
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

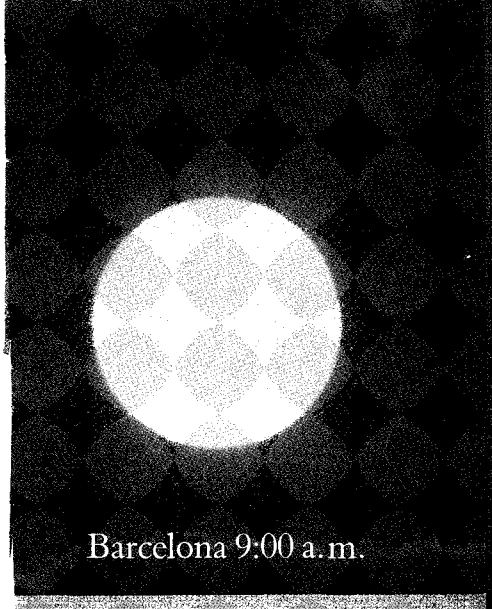
on British Airways.

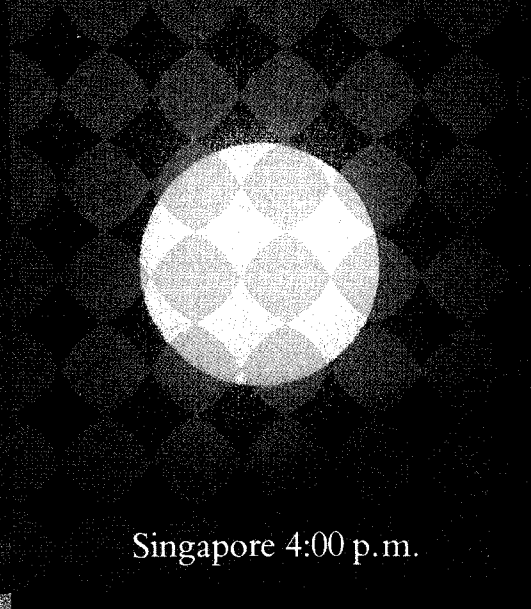
© British Airways 1985.

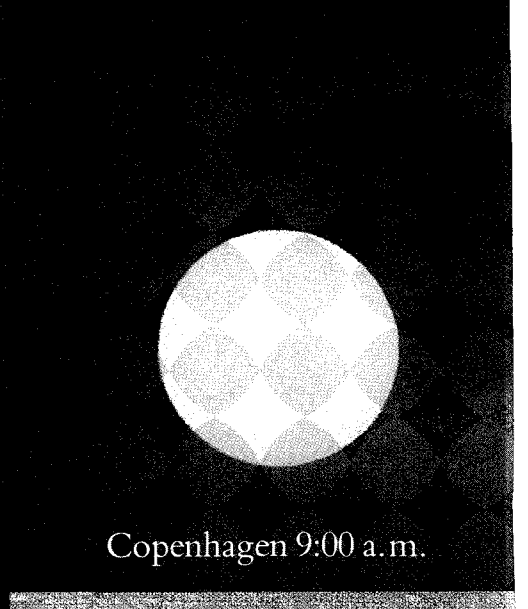


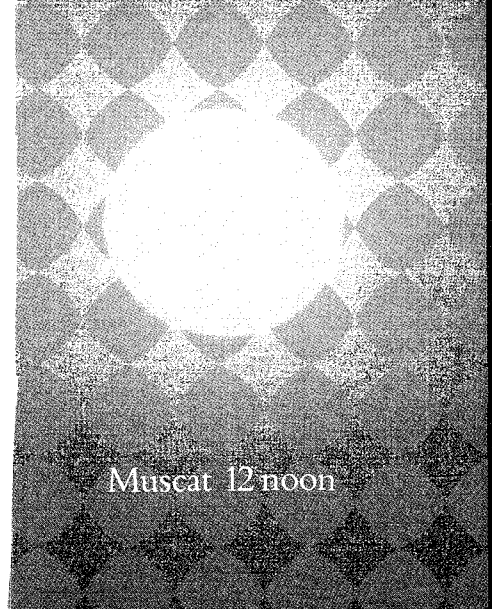


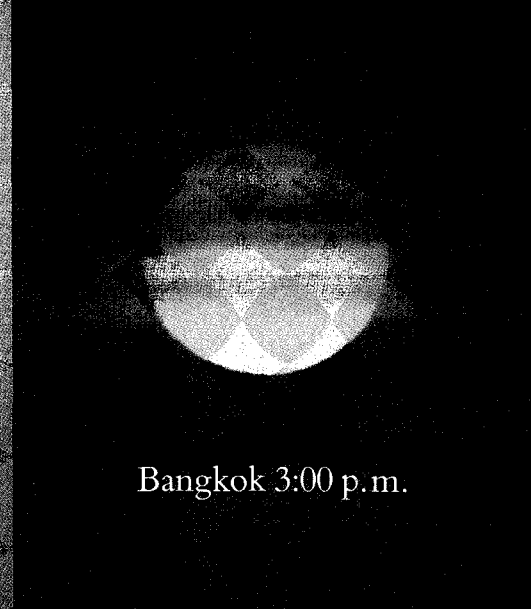












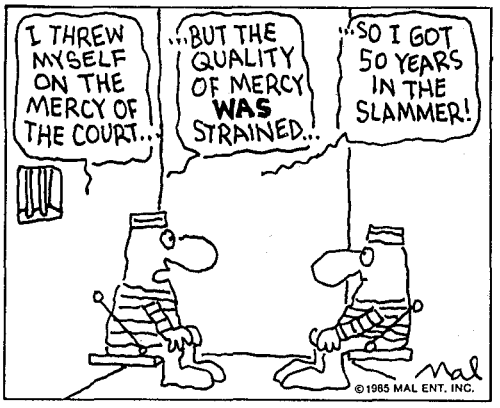
From fifteen cities in the United States, we fly to 133 destinations in 71 countries on six continents. Service like this, plus the service you get on board, has made us the choice of most world travelers. We fly more people to more places than any other airline.

BRITISH AIRWAYS

The worlds favourite airline.®

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

help !!!!


I THREW MYSELF ON THE MERCY OF THE COURT...
...BUT THE QUALITY OF MERCY WAS STRAINED...
...SO I GOT 50 YEARS IN THE SLAMMER!
Mal
©1985 MAL ENT. INC.

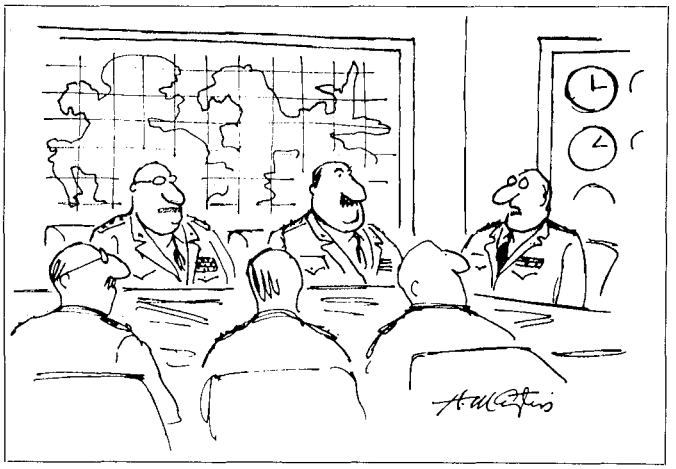
WELL, IF THEY'RE NOT SOVIET, THEN WHO THE...?
CONSERVATIVES, MR. PRESIDENT. THEY'D LIKE A WORD WITH YOU ABOUT YOUR DECISION TO CONTINUE COMPLIANCE WITH SALT II...
H. PAYNE
©1986 SCRIPPS HOWARD

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But They Sure Can Cook

The French, since Vercingetorix,
  Have been the odd men out,
Too prone to preen in victory
  And, in defeat, to pout.
The Bourbons were acquisitive;
  The emperors were worse.
De Gaulle drove Churchill nuts, and now
  They just made Reagan curse.

W. H. VON DREELE



"All those in favor say, BOOM!"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NOW

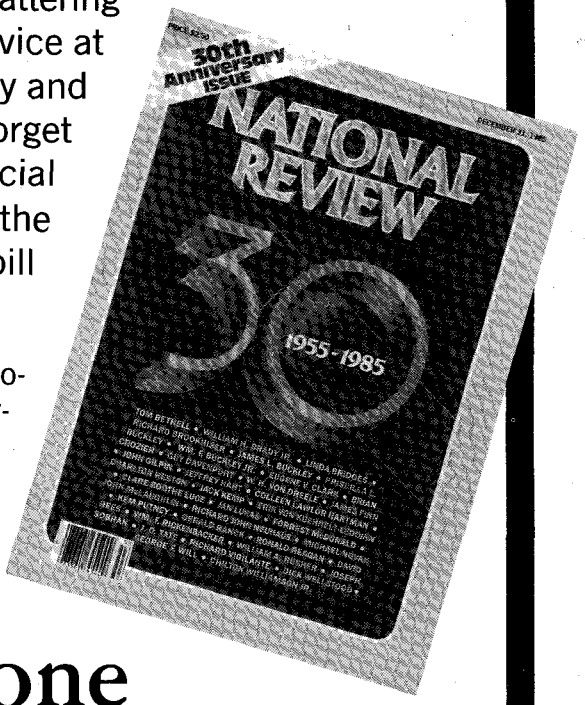
all you have to do to give

National Review

IS DIAL **800-341-1522** TOLL FREE

DATATEL 800™

That's right. To make it easier for you to give full-year gift subscriptions of NR (and who wouldn't appreciate such a flattering gift?) we're providing this new dial-a-gift service at no cost to you—just pick up the phone today and order as many gifts as you want (don't forget the students you care about) at our special gift rate of just $29 each. (We'll pay for the call and all postage and handling, and bill you later—quite a bargain.)



NR makes an ideal gift for hard-to-please people—it's a year-long reminder of your interest (not to mention an indication that you think they are interesting people too). Again, don't forget the young people you care about: conservative ideas are back in style on the campus, so NR should be doubly welcome now.

So pick up the phone and dial that toll-free number

You can use it to place your personal order any time from 8 a.m. to 9 p.m. (Eastern Daylight Time). All gifts just $29 each, for which we'll bill you later.

N.B. ***This special number is for gifts only; our operators cannot handle any other business, queries, etc. If the line is busy, wait a few minutes and call again. We're waiting to hear from you.***

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MANAGUA'S MEXICAN STANDOFF

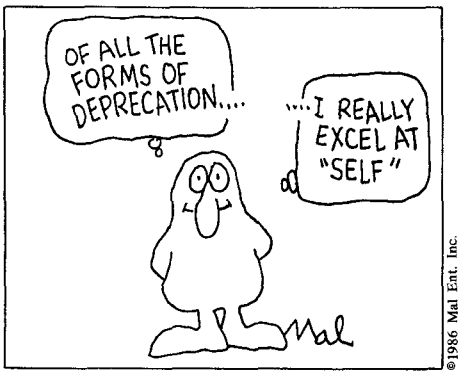
THE WAR between the Sandinista government and the democratic resistance in Nicaragua is diplomatic as well as military. Even if President Reagan soon obtains from Congress some military aid for the Contras, it is unlikely that the Nicaraguan democrats can win without sharply improving their diplomatic position. At present, none of the democracies outside Central America (except those of the Caribbean and a few smaller Latin American countries) has joined us in firm public support of the Contras. The Contras' isolation casts doubt on the reliability of U.S. support for the resistance and increases the Sandinistas' legitimacy at home and abroad.

In this regard European opinion is vital as well, since European support for the Contras would make things easier in the U.S. Congress and thus reassure those who doubt the U.S. commitment. But Europe is influenced in turn by the Contras' lack of Latin support. If democratic governments were as sound on Nicaragua as they are on Afghanistan, the long-term prospects of the Sandinistas would be bad, and their democratic legitimacy would be as thin as that of Dr. Najibullah in Afghanistan or General Jaruzelski in Poland. In such circumstances there would be a number of scenarios for a Contra victory without U.S. troops.

The main cause of the Contras' diplomatic difficulties is the vigor of Mexico's diplomatic effort on behalf of the Sandinistas, and the laxity of ours on behalf of the resistance. Indeed, Mexico's success in mobilizing Guatemala and the expanded Contadora group—which now includes most of the influential countries of Latin America—against the Contras has been so great that even if we began now to seriously compete with Mexico for influence, we would be hard pressed to prevail.

Most of the leadership and population of the Latin countries are against the Sandinistas and believe that they are dangerous. Yet Mexico has been able to manipulate Contadora because it is the country that has taken the greatest and most consistent interest in the matter, and because it has been able to work with Communist sympathizers within other governments and to exploit, sometimes rather nastily, weaknesses in those countries. The vulnerable new Guatemalan government, for instance, has to be especially attentive for fear that Guatemalan guerrillas will be given sanctuary in Mexico. We have so far shown no understanding of how to defeat such tactics.

But rather than asking how we can outwit Mexico in a game of diplomacy, we should be asking why we have to put up with Mexican machinations at all. There is no law of God or man that says that Mexico has a right to take financial aid from the United States and other democratic countries and at the same time to lead a diplomatic offensive against democratic forces in Central America. We behave as if we accepted the Mexican pretense of neutrality. Before Elliott Abrams became Assistant Secretary of State for Latin America, we agreed to Mexico as the site of negotiations with the Nicaraguans, increasing the strength of Mexico's special position and suggesting to Latin Americans that we endorsed the Mexican role.

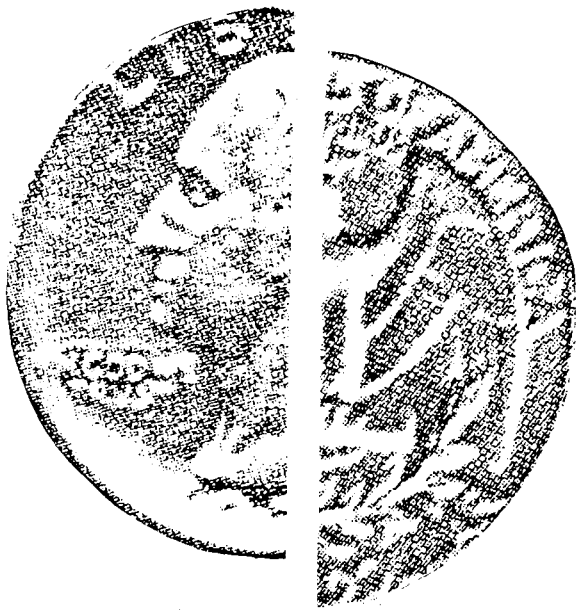


When the U.S. does little, and nothing publicly, to thwart the Mexican campaign against the Contras, and continues to provide Mexico with great financial help, Central American leaders see us as complicit in the Mexican skulduggery. Or else they believe what the Mexicans have been telling them—that they will get more from the U.S. if they kick us than if they do what we ask. We have an obligation to let Mexico know that we cannot continue to turn a blind eye to its collaboration with a tyrannical, aggressive Soviet-Cuban client state.

OF COURSE, fear of Communist power to destabilize Mexico is itself one of the primary reasons Mexico collaborates with our enemies. Mexican leaders are playing appeasement. But though we can sympathize with the desire of successive Mexican presidents to fend off Communist subversion, we should cease allowing them to buy time for Mexico by helping to destroy Central America. Of course, if we were to pressure the Mexicans to behave, we would have to make it clear that we were prepared for the possibility of a Communist campaign against them. But neither we nor they can afford to be held hostage by that danger. We should be prepared instead to help Mexico cope with the threat. Mexico's best defense against U.S. pressure is its own weakness: It is not in the United States' interest for Mexico's financial or political problems to worsen. But Mexican vulnerability shouldn't be an *absolute* weapon, completely eliminating any U.S. influence or claims. If Nicaragua is to be saved, the Administration must find some way to convince Mexico that Ronald Reagan's tolerance of its maneuvers on behalf of the Sandinistas has come to an end. □

Mr. Singer is a founder and former president of the Hudson Institute and currently president of The Potomac Organization, his Washington-based consulting firm.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



THE GREAT TAX REFORM DEBATE

The recent progress toward a tax-reform bill has brought into focus a fundamental disagreement among supply-siders: between those who regard the loss of tax preferences for business as a threat to future growth, and those who regard the loss of such favors as trivial compared to the impact of lower marginal tax rates. Partisans of the first view advise reformers to be extremely cautious about the details of a final bill and to be prepared to jettison tax reform should the political price be a significant shift of the tax burden onto business. The second group urges reformers to make cutting rates their highest priority and to be prepared, if necessary, to make concessions on other points in order to bring rates down. As George Gilder says below, the future of the American economy hangs in part upon the resolution of this issue. —RV

THE SEDUCTION OF THE SUPPLY-SIDERS

PAUL CRAIG ROBERTS

THE TURN taken in the Senate Finance Committee away from the House tax bill (HR-3838) improves the prospects for real reform. This turn of events makes it more imperative than ever for supply-siders to dissociate themselves from the bad tax policy of the House bill. That bill is proof that reductions in tax rates do not guarantee better economic performance regardless of other changes in the tax code. Some people talk as if repealing investment deductions (such as the investment tax credit) would automatically help the economy. Such a position is nonsensical. Repealing such deductions can help the economy only if tax rates are cut enough to offset their loss. To know how much tax rates have to be cut, you have to be able to measure the economic effects of tax rates and the lost deductions. If these measurements are not made, it is possible to lose more than is gained.

The House bill, by cutting the top marginal tax rate from 50 per cent to 38 per cent, seems on the surface to be a supply-side victory. However, other provisions in the bill more than offset the favorable economic effects of lower tax rates. On balance, the House bill would damage the economy. It would particularly weaken new investment in machinery and equipment and harm exports and noncorporate businesses. In my view, the essential goals now for those interested in real tax reform are to make the defects of the House proposal crystal clear, to keep similar problems out of the Senate bill, and to make sure that the House/Senate-conference version lowers marginal tax rates enough to offset the loss of savings incentives and investment-related deductions.

I definitely do not agree with those reformers who are willing to accept a greater tax bias against saving if they can in exchange get the lower marginal rates to which they attribute virtually magical powers. The surest way to buy a pig in a poke is to support a tax-reform bill without analyzing its economic impact. After the rhetorical debacles supply-siders have suffered in the past few years, the last thing the supply side needs is more mysticism on the part of those of its supporters who assert the primacy of psychology over economic analysis. The small cadre of journalists and newsletter writers who have set themselves up as the high-priest interpreters of supply-side economics make it difficult for economists who are held to professional standards to be associated with the movement. Somehow a school of economic thought that has no economists in it seems unpromising.

Euphoria over a prospective second cut in marginal tax rates is blinding some people to the realities of HR-3838. Conservatives, and certainly supply-siders, should note well the enthusiasm the stridently anti-supply-side *Washington*

Professor Roberts holds the William E. Simon chair in Political Economy at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University. During 1981–82 he was Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Economic Policy.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Post and *New York Times* expressed for the House bill. The *Post* heralded it as "a tax bill that reaffirmed the historic principles of the Democratic Party." According to the *Post*, the bill "would take millions of poor people off the income-tax rolls, shift the burden from individuals to corporations, and reaffirm the principle of progressivity." In other words, it is an income-redistribution bill sugar-coated with lower personal tax rates.

The Institute for Political Economy, of which I am chairman, has examined the effect of HR-3838 on personal-income-tax rates, the costs of labor and capital, investment, productivity, income growth, and the competitiveness of U.S. products. We found that the net effect of the bill would be to make the U.S. a poorer country.

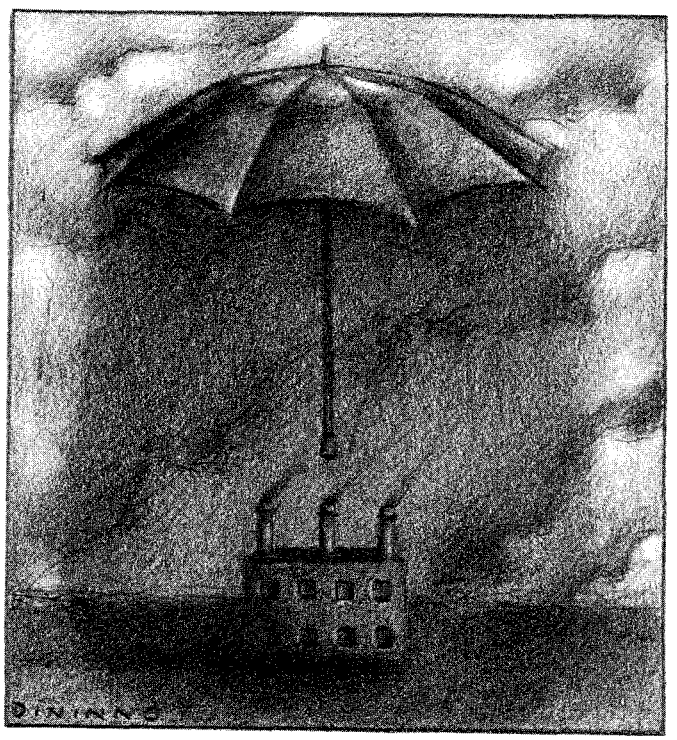
HR-3838 would reduce marginal tax rates on personal income for everyone except the lower middle class (i.e., those in the second quintile of income distribution). Marginal tax rates for those taxpayers would rise. Moreover, except for the reduction in the top rate, the reduction in marginal tax rates is due mainly to the expansion of the personal exemption and standard deduction—an expensive way to cut tax rates, because it lowers marginal rates less for each dollar in tax cuts than do direct cuts in marginal rates. (Increasing the exemption merely raises the threshold at which a given marginal rate applies). This expensive approach to personal-tax-rate reduction increases the taxes that must be placed on business investment to maintain the President's commitment to keep the bill revenue-neutral. This approach also minimizes the advantage of lower rates. Instead of maximizing incentives that would lead to greater income gains and reduce the number of families in poverty, the bill drops poor families from the tax rolls by expanding the personal exemption. It is amazing that many conservatives have been convinced that this traditional Democratic approach to tax cutting is a novel, populist, pro-family approach that will realign the political parties.

Despite the inefficient way in which personal-income-tax rates are cut in the House bill, the effect of these rate cuts taken alone would be positive for the economy. Lower tax rates reduce the cost of labor and, as a result of lower marginal tax rates on dividend and interest income, also reduce the cost of capital. The reduction in corporate tax rates and the 10 per cent dividend deduction that would be phased in over ten years would also work to lower the cost of capital and to make the U.S. a more competitive producer. The difficulty is that the goal of revenue neutrality (figured statically: that is, assuming no new revenue is produced by any tax cut) requires these good provisions to be paid for with offsetting tax increases. The House bill would raise taxes on new investment by repealing the investment tax credit and cutting back depreciation allowances. Under the House plan the main beneficiaries of lower tax rates are owners of existing investments (including land) who receive a windfall gain on profits from investments already in place. The main burden of the reduction in depreciation allowances and repeal of the investment tax credit falls on investments not yet made. The tax-rate reductions do work to encourage new investment, but the incentive is more than offset by the loss of investment-related deductions. We find that the business- and personal-tax-rate reductions would reduce the cost of corporate capital by 13.4 per cent, but the loss of investment-related deductions would raise the cost of corporate capital by 17.5 per cent. The net effect on the non-corporate business sector is even more severe.

The combination of an inefficient approach to personal-income-tax reduction with an inefficient approach to business-income-tax reduction leaves the economy with a higher cost of capital than under current law. Consequently, some currently profitable investments would be made unprofitable. Investment would decline, and the U.S. would become a more labor-intensive producer. Labor productivity would fall, causing a drop in pre-tax wages. This drop in real wages would partially offset the benefit to individuals of lower tax rates. Taking into account the range of possible responses, real GNP would be 0.4 to 1.4 per cent lower than under current law.

Some people argue that although HR-3838 itself was not worthy of passage it was appropriate to support "the process" in order to keep tax reform alive so it could be fixed in the Senate. That approach may seem to have been vindicated. However, supporting the process instead of principle is always dangerous. Such an attitude exposes one to being co-opted, and it also underestimates the importance of details. Using the process to "fix" the House bill is going to be difficult because to truly fix it would require either taking a fundamentally different approach or finding more revenue without further damaging the economy. Finding more revenue would be difficult because, by our calculations, the bill begins as a revenue loser in both static and dynamic terms. In other words, though the bill is actually a tax cut, it is such an inefficient tax cut that it would hurt rather than help the economy. Despite the progress made by the Senate Finance Committee toward a different approach, the Senate will not automatically prevail in conference.

Despite the House bill's adverse economic impact, some advocates defend it on the grounds that shifting the tax burden from individuals to businesses is an improvement in equity or fairness. This is an absurd idea. Business taxes are paid by suppliers of labor and capital and by custom-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ers who buy the products. These taxes raise the cost of production and reduce the growth of jobs and wages. Businesses cannot be taxed without individuals paying the cost in one way or another. The effort to shift the tax burden to business can result in a person's receiving a tax cut in a way that reduces his future income growth or throws him out of work. Despite the facts, even some reputed supply-siders seem to think that business taxes don't matter because only individuals pay taxes. But that is precisely why business taxes do matter. A tax reform that claims to shift the burden to business is a good example of how politicians swindle voters.

HR-3838 has other bad effects. By curtailing private pensions, the bill would reduce capital formation and the financial independence of retirees. Changes in accounting rules would place a retroactive tax on inventories. The foreign tax provisions, together with a substantially higher tax burden on machinery and equipment, would worsen the competitive position of U.S. producers at home and abroad and would increase protectionist pressures. The last thing we need is a tax-reform bill that strains the Western alliance by forcing us to close our markets.

It is extraordinary that President Reagan invested so much political capital in a bill—HR-3838—with so little promise. How do we account for the remarkable transformation in the Reagan Administration's approach to tax policy? I blame it on David Stockman's statement in *The Atlantic* in December 1981 that the Reagan tax cut was a "Trojan horse"—a trick to cut tax rates for the rich. If Stockman had been fired, the President's policy might have survived the accusation. Instead, Stockman was protected by chief of staff Jim Baker, who saw Stockman as an effective foil against the political success of Jack Kemp. Stockman's broadside sent almost everyone who had supported the 1981 tax cut running for cover. Republicans especially wanted to prove that they were for fairness in taxation. The immediate response was the Tax Equity and Fiscal Responsibility Act of 1982. Sponsored by the Reagan Administration, it rolled back, in the middle of a serious recession, most of the previous year's tax cut for investment in machinery and equipment. Once "fairness" crowded out economic growth as the main tax issue, the Treasury bureaucracy seized control of the agenda and pulled off the shelf the tax reform left by Stanley Surrey a quarter-century ago. It was sprinkled with lower rates to give it a supply-side appearance and presented to Reagan, who signed on, thinking he had the real McCoy.

The Administration should have become wary when George McGovern, Ralph Nader, and the Brookings crowd were the first to endorse its "tax reform." But by then PR had taken over policy, and the image-makers relied on pretense as a substitute for substance. To keep "the process" moving, Baker, who by that time had been named Treasury Secretary, ignored Kemp and the House Republicans and turned the tax-reform bill over to Tip O'Neill and Dan Rostenkowski.

It is vital that we neither overlook the faults of HR-3838 nor repeat them in the Senate or the conference-committee version of the tax-reform bill. It would be a strategic mistake for supply-siders to claim as a victory a bill that would not materially improve the economy. The credibility of the tax-cut movement is at stake. The 1981 Reagan tax cut was an eventual economic success, but—draped as it was in Laffer-curve hyperbole—it was an immediate political debacle. The tax cut coincided with the largest deficits in our history. True, the deficits were caused by the sudden and unexpected disinflation, not by the tax cut as Reagan's opponents claimed. But those opponents, aided by David Stockman, won the rhetorical battle, and the deficits forced Reagan on the defensive and caused him to lose control over the budget. Should the next tax reform truly produce adverse economic effects, or simply fail to have enough good effects to justify all the bloodletting, opponents would once again proclaim a failure of supply-side economics. Supply-siders would be unlikely to survive two political fiascos. We cannot afford a tax bill that would be an albatross to supply-siders and a danger to the economy. □

A TRIUMPH OF POLITICS

GEORGE GILDER

WITH THE PASSAGE of the Senate Finance Committee tax plan, the Reagan Revolution is poised for its greatest victory. It is a triumph of politics—unadulterated by David Stockman's grim brand of irony—won through inspired leadership in the Senate and the House by such improbable allies as Robert Packwood, who emerged as something of a legislative magician, Daniel Rostenkowski, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Bob Dole, and Bill Bradley. In fact, a key source of the Finance Committee's 20 to 0 vote was probably a 1978 campaign in New Jersey, during which would-be-senator Jeff Bell taught about-to-be-senator Bill Bradley supply-side economics. Finance Committee member Bradley has become the Senate's most knowledgeable and articulate advocate of lower tax rates.

The vote was also a vindication of Jack Kemp's insistence that if the Republican Party first pursues its opportunities for tax-rate reductions, its deficit problems will be much more easily solved. Provided that Paul Volcker and his associates lower real interest rates and end the continuing world deflation, the Senate bill would drastically reduce the deficit as a percentage of GNP. An emancipation proclamation for U.S. workers and entrepreneurs—liberating them from serfdom to tax lawyers and accountants—the tax reform will unleash enormous energy and creativity in American enterprise and summon investors and entrepreneurs from around the world. Congress has become an unexpected asset of American competitiveness.

A triumph of politics, a triumph of the U.S. economy, and a triumph for Ronald Reagan, the entire tax-reform process is nonetheless being treated by some conservative economists, including even some key supply-siders, as an all but unacceptable risk, or even a bitter defeat. Norman Ornstein of AEI rushed onto ABC's *Nightline* to condemn the Finance Committee bill; lobbyists galore are mobilizing against it. Mario Cuomo is in a bitter funk and is lashing out at Moynihan. Everywhere special interests are gather-

Mr. Gilder's Men and Marriage, *a fully revised edition of* Sexual Suicide, *will be released this fall by Pelican.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WANTED: new readers who would enjoy National Review as much as you do. You can help us find such new NR-persons by using the card facing this page now. Give it to some friend of yours with your recommendation (the best advertising we can get!). Or use the card yourself, to send an introductory subscription to someone you know would appreciate it — you may well be starting a lifetime friendship. And you will be doing us the kind of favor only you can do. Thanks.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

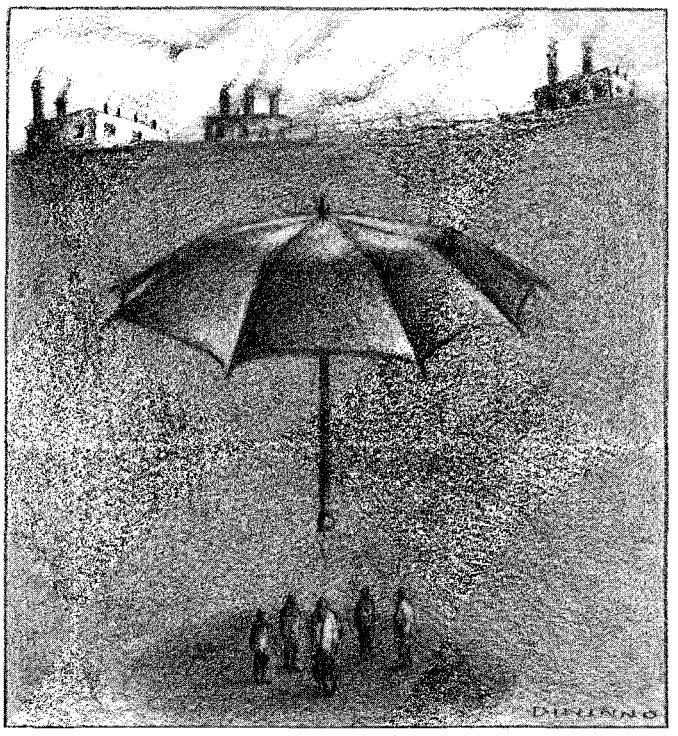
ing to force the Senate to raise marginal rates in exchange for dubious gains for particular industries. Some supply-siders are already fretting about the impact of the Senate bill on the so-called "cost of capital." Others are less worried about the Senate bill in this regard, but terrified that the final conference-committee version will retain the provisions of the House bill they regard as anti-business (again, because they supposedly raise the cost of capital).

At the root of this mixed reaction is a fundamental disagreement among supply-siders, and conservative economists generally, over the sources of economic growth. The future of the U.S. economy hinges, in part, upon how that disagreement is resolved. Put as simply as possible, one side —led by Norman Ture and Paul Craig Roberts and including most GOP congressmen and corporate lobbyists— believes that business investment is the driving force of economic growth and that the "cost of capital" is the key to business investment. The other side—led by Arthur Laffer and Jude Wanniski and represented by the President— believes that individual effort and creativity are the key to economic growth and that marginal tax rates on income, particularly the top rates that apply to all major economic success, are the dominant influence.

Thus in political terms, when the horse trading starts, the cost-of-capitalists will resist accepting what they regard as penalties on business investment (e.g., the loss of investment tax credits) as the price of lower rates. By contrast, the Laffer faction—let's call them the entrepreneurialists—will be more willing to "pay" for cuts in marginal rates with alleged penalties on investment. In practice, the Finance Committee bill is likely to pass the full Senate in roughly its current form. The real conflict will thus come when House and Senate conferees negotiate a final bill. At that point the cost-of-capitalists will insist that the House yield on most of its allegedly anti-business provisions, and may even be willing to compromise on rates in order to get the House to agree. The entrepreneurialists, by contrast, will be more willing to accept the House provisions the cost-of-capitalists oppose, if by doing so they can keep marginal rates low. For that matter, most of the entrepreneurialists would have accepted the House bill, if that were absolutely the best that could be gotten, because they regard its slashing of the top tax rate from 50 to 38 per cent as a victory for economic growth.

NORMAN TURE's econometric model, similar to the one used by Roberts to evaluate the House tax-reform bill, is the paramount analytical tool of the cost-of-capitalists. In this model, the cost of capital is the gross return needed to pay taxes, depreciation, interest, and the normal expected rate of profit on a new investment. When taxes rise, this hurdle rate of return also rises, and fewer investment projects can pass the test. The result is less investment and thus less growth and productivity.

The Ture model assumes that economic growth is increased by any program that reduces the cost of plant and equipment, including the necessary payout of profits from its yield. To some extent, investment tax credits, rapid writeoffs, lower interest costs, lower corporate rates, lower rates on dividends, and lower personal rates, which all affect the willingness and ability of companies to expand their capital outlays, are included in the model.



What is the matter with this approach? Nothing, as far as it goes. As an explanation of aggregate investment at any particular time, it offers a roughly accurate guide. But it is a closed system, envisioning a limited pool of funds divided among different uses: chiefly consumption and capital spending. The economy, in this picture, grows through the accumulation of capital. But in the real economy, the value of any pool of funds or aggregate of capital is entirely dependent on the ideas and ambitions of workers and entrepreneurs. What matters is not the allocation of resources but the generation of new ideas and companies. The amount of capital, and how it is shared between consumption and investment at any particular time, is a trivial issue compared to the incentives and conditions for creativity and entrepreneurship.

From the entrepreneurial point of view, investment "incentives" are often counterproductive. Capital spending is desirable only if it is combined with the best labor and management pursuing the best available opportunities. Investment tax credits and other benefits focus on the *purchase* of capital equipment rather than on its *use* in productive and profitable applications. Many investment incentives favor tax shelters, corporate limousines, and plush company headquarters over the aggressive pursuit of risky but potentially profitable opportunities. Most investment credits favor established companies, with an existing flow of taxable income, over new companies without taxable profits to be sheltered.

Thus the Laffer side believes that the cost-of-capital theory errs in treating all factors in the formula equally. For promoting growth, marginal rates of taxation on additional income and profits are decisively more important than anything else, including the rate of allowable depreciation, investment tax credits, and average tax rates.

The Ture model has the great polemical advantage of rigorous theory and mathematics. Not only did Ture and Roberts provide the most elegant and coherent model—a vital contribution—they also offer the most detailed mathe-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

matical projections. Like his Keynesian rivals, Roberts thinks he can tell you exactly how much any particular tax change will affect the cost of capital and the rate of capital formation and hence the rate of economic growth. Critics of the Ture model, such as Laffer, Wanniski, and Alan Reynolds, do not offer the mathematical apparatus that the cost-of-capital theorists can provide.

Nonetheless, the Laffer approach has the advantage of dealing with the real economy. Laffer points to the immense amount of disguised consumption and waste, the tax sheltering and shifting that masquerades as capital investment. By changing the focus of the entrepreneur from the cost of capital to the rewards of enterprise, lower marginal rates tend to improve the quality of effort across the whole system. By shifting the focus from incentives for "capital formation" (in which the Soviet economy excels) to incentives for business creation and profits, Laffer is precisely on target.

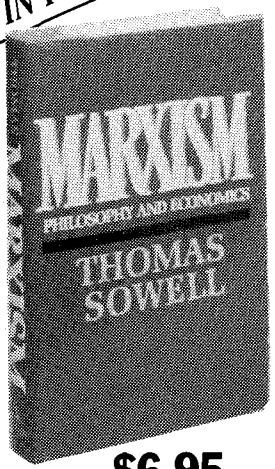
A preoccupation with the cost of machines—a willingness to forgo reductions in the taxation of human capital in order to spur spending on physical capital—betrays a basic misunderstanding of the sources of growth. Capital does not grow or accumulate. People create and destroy capital by generating new entrepreneurial ideas.

Because the most extraordinary additional efforts, with the largest benefits to the economy, tend to be taxed at the top rates, the Laffer side tends to stress the top rates and their thresholds rather than the so-called "average marginal rates" stressed by Ture and Roberts. The average-marginal-rate approach regards a rise in one of the lower brackets as comparable in importance to a rise in the top rate. This averaging of all marginal rates, rather than concentrating on the top tax rates, is a crucial flaw of the Ture-Roberts model. In the lower brackets, the disincentives are far less powerful than in the top bracket, where the very horizons of the economy are defined.

Under combined federal and state rates of 50 per cent and above, common in most American states, the earner has a larger incentive to hide a dollar of existing income than to earn an additional dollar. In fact, presuming money is easier to hide than to earn, the incentive to find shelter overwhelms the incentive to exploit opportunity. This single most important problem of Western economies —the stifling impact of high top rates hitting at low income thresholds—is almost totally absent from the cost-of-capital models.

COMPROMISE ON these issues is made difficult by the mandate for revenue neutrality under which the debate is proceeding. The insistence that revenue must be measured statically—that every apparent dollar in rate reductions loses a full dollar in revenue, with no paybacks for greater work effort, for more productive investment, or even for luring income out of tax shelters—excludes some of the most important insights shared by all supply-siders. Basing congressional negotiations on static revenue neutrality is called "playing it safe," but it is actually playing it

NOW AVAILABLE IN PAPERBACK



$6.95

LAISSEZ FAIRE BOOKS
Order # TS4120

ORDER TOLL-FREE
1-800-238-2200
ext 500
Continental U.S.
• 24 hours a day •
• 7 days a week •

Shattering The Myths Of Marxism

For those familiar with Marxian theory, Thomas Sowell's lively book shatters existing interpretations based on repetition instead of scholarship. For the unitiated, it is a lucid, step-by-step introduction to the subject.

A sampler of the provocative points that make MARXISM a splendid read:

- Why Marx's ringing use of the term "capitalism" was "something of a verbal coup."
- Why "Marxism was — and remains — a mighty instrument for the acquisition and maintenance of political power."
- How Marxists speak boldly "in the name of the workers without their consent [but] in defiance of their contrary views and actions."

"There are many books on Marxism, but this is one of the best." —Library Journal

"... an extraordinarily lucid and carefully reasoned book...."
—Professor Douglas C. North, Washington University

MONEY BACK GUARANTEE:
If for any reason you are dissatisfied with any book, just return it within 30 days for a refund.

Send your order to:
LAISSEZ FAIRE BOOKS, Dept. NAK
532 Broadway, New York, NY 10012

☐ Please send me ____ copies of Thomas Sowell's *MARXISM: Philosophy and Economics* for only $6.95 each plus $1.00 postage and handling, or $2.00 UPS ($2.00 for foreign orders). *NY State residents add appropriate sales tax.*

☐ Send me your FREE 32-page catalog of books on liberty.

☐ My check or money order is enclosed for $ ____.
☐ Please bill my ☐ Visa ☐ MasterCard

Acct. No. _____
Expir. Date _____
Signature _____
Name (Please Print) _____
Address _____
City/State/Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

stupid. Any tax cut or tax reform designed to produce economic growth should yield large increases in revenue. If lower rates do not bring higher revenues, it means the tax structure was not a major obstacle to economic growth in the first place and did not need to be reformed.

Any economist or politician who denies the destructive impact of the tax code, however, lives in a dream world. He is deliberately blinding himself to the incredible energies and bizarre financial contortions devoted to tax avoidance by capitalists in every country. If the tax rate is more than 30 per cent or so, it simply does not pay to invest in most risky (i.e., economically significant) projects. That is why the lower capital-gains tax rate has been so important to entrepreneurship, why venture capital collapsed when that rate rose during the 1970s, and why innovation soared after the rate was again reduced in 1978 and 1981. The capital-gains tax has been the only rate that can accommodate real innovation and enterprise.

These facts elude many economists. But they are inescapable at any small-business board meeting or investment conference. Listen in on such meetings and you will discover that the question of tax credits arises chiefly with regard to capital spending that is unnecessary and thus actually a form of disguised consumption. The company buys an extra Mercedes because the financial officer can show that with an investment tax credit, rapid writeoff, and high resale value, the car comes essentially free. Or a firm builds a new company headquarters to take advantage of the tax benefits of real estate.

To the extent that companies buy machinery because of its short-run tax consequences, excess equipment is purchased. Its price then tends to rise because of the extra demand, and the yield drops. Reynolds cites the recent emergence, spurred by the rapid writeoffs and investment tax credits so dear to Roberts and Ture, of many car-leasing and -rental firms that persist, wasting capital, only because of the tax benefits. Moreover, the tax benefits for equipment purchases are as perverse as they are inefficient. While cars that last eight years can be written off in three, semiconductor and other high-technology production gear that obsolesces in three years must be depreciated over five.

The entire idea of targeted investment aid misconceives the real life of business. Investment in machinery actually required to carry out the company's mission is driven less by the tax code than by the imperatives of survival. In a competitive environment, the very existence of the company is at stake. The decision to buy a truly crucial piece of productive equipment is determined less by narrow computations of the cost of capital than by the general strategy and prospects of the firm, the condition of its markets, the spirit of its entrepreneurs and workers. Marginal income-tax rates paid by investors, customers, and workers, as well as the firm itself, have far more impact on these crucial conditions than any targeted investment benefits.

A FURTHER PROBLEM in the Ture-Roberts cost-of-capital model is the stress on measurements of national savings rates rather than on the actual disposable personal savings that finance nearly all business start-ups. This approach, for example, would condemn the Finance Committee's proposal to shut down most future IRAs. In fact the Senate approach would liberate currently paralyzed investment capital. With exorbitant penalties and increasing paperwork, a retirement device that could have become a good vehicle for disposable personal funds is becoming instead just another casket for money lying in state. To the extent that savings are incarcerated in government-regulated pens, from which to be channeled chiefly into government securities, IRAs are more of a tax than a tax break. One of the prime flaws of the Ture model is that it makes conservatives indulgent toward new government impositions in the name of higher national savings rates.

And so it could go for pages of qualms and objections, reservations and quibbles. The key question remains: Does the tax reform reduce the top marginal rates on productive and entrepreneurial activity? If the answer is yes, and official revenue neutrality is maintained, the presumption favors the reform. So far, the Rostenkowski bill, for all its problems, easily passes the test. The Finance Committee bill does even better, though the Senate will need help in resisting the various special interests besieging it.

The House, Senate, and Administration are all seriously considering tax plans that would lower the top rate to 38 per cent or lower. This achievement is worthy of a celebration. Supply-siders of all kinds should stop fighting and join in the effort to remove the kinks and pass the bill. As Reynolds writes: "Tax reform raises the *return* on capital, including human capital. Tax reform lowers the cost of *operating* (as opposed to just buying) profitable plant and equipment, lowers the relative purchase price of currently tax-favored capital equipment, lowers interest rates, lowers labor costs, and lowers the cost of equity financing. Nothing on that list—not one thing—is included in the usual estimates of 'the cost of capital.' "

Compromise should be possible because each side recognizes some truth in the arguments of its opponents. But a final obstacle remains: namely, contrary views on the good sense and competence of the politicians. Roberts, for example, is skeptical of the ability of Senate negotiators to prevail in conference committee. Roberts and his associates fear that somewhere in the process liberals will render reductions in marginal rates merely cosmetic and use reform to substantially increase the progressivity of the code and its bias against saving and investment.

Cynicism about the possibilities of political change, however, ill befits Paul Craig Roberts, who, working with Jack Kemp nearly a decade ago, transformed the attitudes of Congress toward the supply side of the economy. To give up at the very moment that both Houses, one controlled by the GOP, together with a Republican Administration, are attempting a major breakthrough is simply perverse. Moreover, the revenue-neutrality provision, though conceptually obtuse, does restrict the damage that is likely to be done even if somehow the liberals manage to outmaneuver everyone else.

Packwood, Dole, and Rostenkowski may not be NATIONAL REVIEW's favorite politicians, or mine. But God bless them. Few developments in American politics are so inspiring as these three congressional leaders, one a big-city machine Democrat, one a liberal Republican, and one—well, words fail me in defining Bob Dole—all willing to join in an effort to drastically reduce the tax rates and irregularities that afflict the U.S. economy. They need help, not additional choruses of "The Cost of Capital Blues." □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TWO CURTAIN CALLS

WHEN Jean-Claude Duvalier, President-for-Life of Haiti, and Olof Palme, Prime Minister of Sweden, left the world stage within a few weeks of each other, they bowed out to very different reviews. The revolution that toppled Duvalier was universally acclaimed. Palme's departure, on the other hand, was greeted with dismay and sorrow—not only because the manner of his leave-taking (murder) was so vile, but because his career had been so virtuous.

The regimes of the two men—the hyper-modern welfare state, and the primitive dictatorship—showed equally striking contrasts. But neither the differences in their curtain calls nor the differences in their countries could obscure certain formal resemblances. The priggish technocrat and the playboy thug had quite a bit in common.

Neither man, to be sure, had very promising material to work with. Haiti has been misruled since the day of its independence, while for Sweden it's been all downhill since Poltava. Their combined creative assets amount to one playwright, one movie-maker, and a school of folk painters. It would have taken a great leader indeed to stir fire in such cold ashes.

They set to work in similar ways. Both, according to their lights, were *dirigistes*. Duvalier ruled a poor economy with cronyism and thievery; Palme, operating at a higher level of organization, employed corporate-state "cooperation" and redistributionist taxes. But under neither did the average citizen have much economic leeway.

Both ruled by means of alien ideologies, hostile to the spirit of Western civilization. The veneer over the voodoo core of the Duvalier regime was extremely thin. (Wordsworth, in a low moment, wished to be a pagan suckled in a creed outworn. He should have seen un-worn-out paganism at work.) Palme frequently dispensed with the veneer. His astonishing cultural credo, quoted in "The Week" (March 28), deserves repetition. "I don't see anything special about Florence, or Paris, or Rome. . . . The Renaissance, so-called? Western culture? What does it mean to us?" This, and other expressions of the ethos of Swedish Social Democracy, can be found in Roland Huntford's *The New Totalitarians* (Stein & Day, 1972), which compares the Swedish experiment with *Brave New World*. ("I want to see more communal restaurants," Huntford quotes a functionary in the Directorate of National Planning. "There is nothing as isolating as the family meal, taken together, within four walls.")

Both men, finally, were drags on American interests: Duvalier passively, in that his incompetence and cruelty became an embarrassment; Palme, by his spiteful anti-Americanism. Duvalier was the kind of man our enemies love to attack; Palme was an enemy.

Why then did no one make the connection? How did Palme escape the odium both he and Duvalier deserved?

Lessons from Rome

PALME, it is true, never killed anyone. That was the great uncommon denominator of the two regimes. A nonconformist in Sweden could be subjected to all the tortures of bureaucratic life. A nonconformist in Haiti could be tortured. But this surely does not explain the world's disapproval of Duvalier. Many murderous despots escape censure; some of them —Castro, for instance—were friends of Palme. There must have been other reasons for the radical difference in our estimation of the two men. Palme, it seems to me, profited from four factors.

It helped that he was an ascetic. To a surprising extent, our notions of misrule are still shaped by the experience of Imperial Rome. The good emperors of conventional reckoning—Hadrian, Trajan, the stuffy Marcus Aurelius —were all clean livers, while the bad —Nero, Caligula, Tiberius—were roustabouts. The bad emperors, naturally, have remained much more interesting. And what is most vivid in accounts of their wickedness, from Tacitus and Suetonius on up to Robert Graves, is not the spectacle of innocents thrown to the lions, but the baroque personal indulgence.

In retaining Roman yardsticks, we have not caught up with history. Modern literature has given us images of the merciless saint, beginning with the Grand Inquisitor. Modern politics has given us the saints in the flesh: Dzerzhinsky, the founder of the Cheka, who volunteered to clean latrines in Czarist prisons; Hitler, who was a teetotaler, a non-smoker, and a vegetarian. Above all, Lenin, who refused to listen to classical music, lest it dull his fighting edge.

But still we associate despotism with venison, silk, and catamites. There seems to be a primitive moral calculus at work: If *you* were willing to commit every horrible crime, at least you'd want some fun (or what looked like it) in return. Duvalier and Palme, on a much lower level, played out the two options. The playboy was abhorred; the dark-suited paper-pusher was respected.

Palme also profited from the fact that he was white. A few weeks after the fall, *People* magazine ran a cover story on Michèle Duvalier, Jean-Claude's wife, and Imelda Marcos, headlined DRAGON LADIES. Would they have gotten such treatment if they had been Swedes—or Russians? (Mrs. Gorbachev—who, while she may not own as many pairs of shoes as Imelda, certainly does not go barefoot—was being widely admired, short months ago, for her chic.) Particularly in the tricky matter of self-indulgence, we don't seem to expect good behavior

(Continues on page 61)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MITTERRAND

THE FRENCH are a highly individualistic people, and, as Walter Bagehot and Harold Laski have pointed out, individualism mixes badly with democracy. They are undoubtedly an ideological people as well, but François Mitterrand might be an exception. In predicting how he will try to maneuver now that the French voters have placed rightist parties in power in *both* chambers of parliament, one needs to consider not only his own highly checkered career, but also the turbulent political history of postwar France.

By 1958, it had become impossible to pretend that the constitution of the Fourth Republic was still viable. The government had virtually collapsed, and the people were begging Charles de Gaulle to take over the Republic in receivership. He sourly consented, but made a new constitution the condition of his acceptance. (There is evidence that he briefly considered a restoration of the monarchy, but the Pretender as well as his son proved too weak from every point of view.)

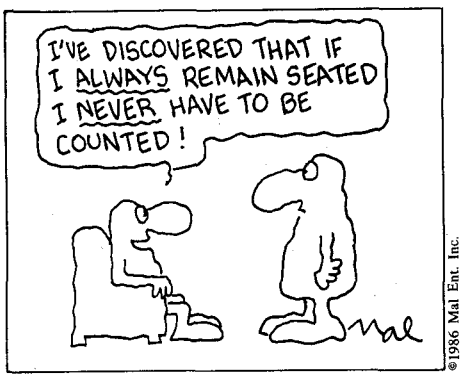
In formulating the new constitution, it was imperative first of all to have less of the fickleness of democracy—the rapidly changing cabinets and policy gyrations. However, given the country's earlier history, the French were unwilling to dispense with "checks and balances" entirely. So they chose the American Constitution, up to a point, as their pattern. "Transfers" of patterns, however, are always dangerous. Outside of the English-speaking world and the extreme north of Europe, nearly every country that practices a form of democracy has ideologically dominated parties, and the voting in the chambers strictly follows party lines that are hardly ever crossed.

As a result of those deliberations 28 years ago, France now has a presidential government: The president nominates the prime minister and the cabinet; yet—an important difference from the American Constitution—the prime minister has to step down if the National Assembly (the lower house) gives him a vote of no confidence. Furthermore, the designers of the constitution had thought it clever to allot different tenures to the president and the deputies, seven years to the former, five years to the latter. Senators, meanwhile, have nine years' tenure, but one-third of them are voted on every third year. (Checks and balances indeed!) This is why Mitterrand, in his speeches before the parliamentary elections this spring, beseeched the people to vote in a leftist Assembly, because otherwise it would be difficult, if not impossible, to govern France.

The next presidential elections are due in 1988, and that is far away. The real question now is this: What sort of man is Mitterrand? Is he ideologically motivated after all?

Mitterrand was born into a devoutly Catholic upper-middle-class (*bourgeoise*) family. He had a Catholic education; one of his brothers is a retired air-force general, another is prominent in business, and a sister works in a Catholic publishing house and acts as intermediary between the president and the Church. On the other hand, one-third of his cabinet consists of Masons, mostly of the Grand Orient Lodge, definitely Left and anti-clerical—a very different breed from American Masons.

As a young man Mitterrand belonged to the monarchist *Action Française*, and some of his friends, like the famous Colonel Passy, even belonged to the extreme rightist *Cagoulards*. Mitterrand was taken prisoner by the Germans but managed to escape in 1941. He then worked under the Pétain regime, established a secret contact with de Gaulle in Algeria, and emerged as a Socialist after the war, convinced that he could revitalize the Socialist Party, which for years had played a marginal role, competing unsuccessfully with the Communists. Under Mitterrand's leadership the situation changed. The Socialists increased, and the Communists declined sharply. And in 1981 he sailed into power.



HE STARTED out with a Socialist economic program but (from an orthodox Socialist viewpoint) "compromised" in two areas. He gave in to the Right on the matter of retaining denominational schools, after massive demonstrations throughout the country (Evangelicals and Jews battled shoulder to shoulder with Catholics on this issue). He also kept France firmly in the Western Alliance. Talking with the journalist Catherine Nay, Mitterrand admitted that "with sixty well-placed friends, you have a country like France firmly in your hand." *Les amitiés* are a highly important factor in French life, and Mitterrand has friends Right and Left.

Mitterrand probably does not believe in socialism (no intelligent person does), but he undoubtedly believes in Mitterrand. He might remember what the nineteenth-century leftist politician Alexandre Ledru-Rollin said of the masses: "I am their leader, hence I must follow them." He might also recall an advertisement from the Paris *Métro* in the Fifties: four strutting Mariannes and a tiny fifth one looking coyly around the corner, with the text: "The Republics come and go, but Soudé Paints last forever." □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LAND OF DREAMS

THIS YEAR Ada and I finally were able to accept her parents' long-standing invitation to visit them at their house in Spain, where they have spent half of each year for the last 15 years or so. Her father, Richard H. Hawkins Jr., held diplomatic posts in Spain and, earlier, Peru, and is a thorough master of the language (having served earlier in Jeddah, he has a grasp of the Arabic roots of much of the vocabulary). All of the family speak the language easily, along with French, German, and Italian, of course.

So we have been two months now in this most mountainous and lofty country of Europe, and the dream I had so long ago has come real and has not been disappointed. In the dark summer of 1942, scarce half a year after the Japanese assault on Pearl Harbor, when niceties were at an end and there were no vacations, my mother and brother and I stayed in the hot apartment in Manhattan in the days before air conditioning, and she asked me what I'd like to do for the summer and for some reason that I forget I said I'd like to learn Spanish. She always had good connections, and within a few days I was walking from 86th Street and the East River to a fifth-floor walk-up at 55 East 55th Street, whose basement was given over to a fashionable nightspot called El Borracho (The Drunkard).

On that fifth floor I met my tutor, Francisco Ibarra, who had written textbooks about Spanish and Portuguese, and who had a zealous love for correctness and elegance in all things. "Pancho," which he said was his nickname but which at the age of 14 I wouldn't have dreamt of calling him, was an unmatchable lover of Spanish. He had a book I have not seen since: a large, heavy, one-volume Velásquez dictionary, probably done in the 1930s (because no good dictionary in any language has been printed since). This dictionary carried the etymologies back to the Arabic in actual Arabic type, so that I could look over Pancho's shoulder and see those seductive and mysterious and ancient signs printed indecipherably on the page to explain why Sancho and Pablo use such-and-such words to this day.

It occurred to me, in 1942, at the low point of our nation's luck in World War II, that Spain would be a wonder to behold, some time. Each day I walked the two miles to Pancho's flat and each night did my written work and my reading and dreamt of gardens and fountains and castles in Spain. But I always held back, fearing that my dream might be too starry, might be doomed to debasement.

These two months of residence in Andalusia and motoring through the half of Spain that lies below Madrid have chastised me, as if each field of flowers and each hillside of bouncing lambs were saying, "Where have you been all these years?" Later, we are told, all the earth turns brown and dry in the summer agony, but now in the springtime the land is loony with color. We have seen a field two kilometers long and solidly abloom with daisies. Whole hillsides—acres and acres—glare at us with the deep red flower of the poppy. The owl sings us to sleep in the cork forest beyond our vegetable garden. In the morning we rise to the tune of the nightingale.

As for the people, I feel at home with them, perhaps because by nature and by condition I am not prepared to think of any tribe as being alien. I find that the Spanish are exceptional in their toleration for those of us who do not speak fluently (I have been reading and writing the language all my life but have never had the chance or the need to vocalize it). I very much like the directness of their gaze: When a Spanish lady or gentleman addresses you, your eyes will be engaged, co-opted, transfixed. There is a certain ferocity in such honesty, but it is a ferocity I can live with. You know where you stand with them. Do "the correct," and be sure they will do the same.

We have seen thirty towns now, all in the Vandal (Arabic-Granada) part of southern Spain. Ada knows the north country (Celtic, Gothic), thanks to her father's diplomatic posts there, and to some extent the central plateau (Madrid, the loftiest capital of Europe). So we cannot say we have seen all there was to see, and I'm not unhappy on that score. Almost a half-century I waited to see this much, and it was worth the waiting; why begrudge another antechamber?

FOR WE have seen, here roundabout, the everlasting snowy peaks of the Sierra Nevada, the many-colored Mediterranean, whole valleys of perfume-giving orange groves, mile after mile of olive trees, fields sown with buttercups, pastures painted blue with wild iris, glens deeper blue with dwarf iris, whole fields of wild gladiolus, bougainvillaea spilling over mountain ledges and household balconies in resplendent avalanches, white owls flying in the noonday sun, hawks and eagles flying sentry duty on every upwind slope, mongeese rippling along some interesting spoor, hares tumbling toward neighbors' gardens (one hopes), seagulls clustering at inlets, herds of wild horses grazing on sand dunes by the ruins of Roman cities that were prosperous trading posts a couple of thousand years ago . . .

Oh, Pancho, wherever you are, I thank you for your share in leading me to suspect that this country might be indeed a land of great and lovely dreams. And in an unforeseen way: because I dreamt of it before I saw it but now, having seen it, think it a dream. The whole country has been dreamt, the people are bewitched, and Quixote was right. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

STOCKMAN'S DEBACLE

Ernest van den Haag

The Triumph of Politics: Why the Reagan Revolution Failed, by David A. Stockman (Harper & Row, 411 pp., $21.95)

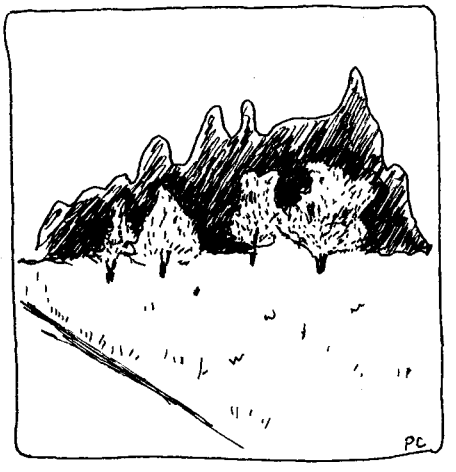
In *The Triumph of Politics*, David Stockman presents himself as a naïve rustic from Michigan—a former divinity student, no less—betrayed by Washington politicians. This is a sham. So is Stockman. For whatever betraying was done, was done by him. First by confiding in William Greider, an editor of the *Washington Post*, whose *Atlantic* article was by no means based on minor, casual indiscretions or on vagueness about what might or might not be quoted. To the contrary, the article admittedly reflected lengthy and repeated interviews in which Stockman said everything he could think of to discredit the Reagan program in the public mind, ultimately calling it a "Trojan horse." Unable to disclose any new and discreditable facts about the President's program—for there weren't any—Stockman simply revealed his own lack of conviction. Given his position, this was a bonanza for Reagan's enemies.

To do what he did, Stockman must suffer from a serious character flaw—which he confirms once more through this book. It is a lengthy, boring, and rather silly diatribe against practically all his former associates in the Administration. Stockman is hard on himself too, which palliates but does not excuse his malevolence toward others.

What is Stockman's basic beef? He helped pass Ronald Reagan's tax-cut program in the expectation, then fairly generally shared, that spending cuts would be made, sufficient to avoid a deficit, or that revenues would increase, as the supply-siders predicted. Neither happened. Politicians in and outside the Administration disappointed Stockman by preventing cuts in expenditure. Hence the deficit, which scared him silly.

Now, I too would like government expenditure to be cut. Much of it is unjustifiable, counterproductive, bizarre, or shamelessly wasteful. Stockman was correct on practically every cut he proposed. But did he have a right to be surprised when Congress, or even Cabinet members, refused, in effect, to make politically hazardous cuts?

When Stockman realized that the expenditure cuts were not forthcoming and that there would be an enormous deficit (for revenue was not increasing), he concluded: ". . . the case for a major tax increase was overwhelming, unassailable, inescapable, and self-evident . . ." Indeed, "not to raise taxes . . . was a willful act of ignorance and grotesque irresponsibility . . ." This hysterical outburst reveals that to this day Mr. Stockman has not understood the economic and political effects of taxes, or of deficits. He looks at taxes, expenditures, and deficits as an accountant might, without grasping their economic or political meaning. But just as accountants don't make business decisions, so they should not make economic or political decisions. They should merely present data.



Tax increases will reduce deficits only if 1) they increase revenue (which they may not do in a recession, or generally when the tax increase greatly reduces the taxed activity) and 2) they are not offset by additional spending—which, over time, has always occurred when taxes were increased.

Even if deficits are (temporarily) reduced by tax increases, these seldom are justifiable. Tax increases leave government spending untouched; they finance it by taking people's money, instead of borrowing it, as deficits do. To say, as Stockman does repeatedly, that borrowing depletes savings and capital formation, whereas taxing somehow does not, is sheer nonsense. Government *expenditure* reduces savings and private capital formation, regardless of whether it is financed by taxes or by borrowing. Incidentally, there has been no capital shortage in the United States although our tax system penalizes savings (interest on savings is taxed) and rewards expenditure on consumption (interest on charge accounts is deductible).

What about the deficit? If there is no point in reducing it by increasing taxes, there still is every reason to reduce it by cutting expenditure—and nothing but the deficit will persuade Congress to do so. It is true, of course, that future generations will be burdened with the interest they will have to pay. But they will also receive it. Since much of the federal budget will go for interest, less will be available for wasteful government expenditures. This is all to the good.

Why, then, not increase the deficit indefinitely? For the same reason we

Michael Fumento is a Washington-based freelance writer and founding editor of Illini Review.

Charles Nicol is a professor of English at Indiana State University.

Ernest van den Haag is John M. Olin Professor of Jurisprudence and Public Policy at Fordham University in New York City.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

should not print money indefinitely: If the increase exceeds the increase in production, the price level will go up; we will have inflation.

But inflation is under control now despite the Stockman hysteria. Still, if it is to be avoided in the future, three things need to be done.

1. The deficit must be reduced by cutting government expenditure. This the Administration is trying. If it were to follow Stockman's counsel and allow taxes to be raised, the matter would be hopeless. As it is, with Gramm-Rudman and the threat of constitutional amendments and, perhaps, of a line-item veto, there is some hope.

2. The tax system must be changed so as to reward the earning and keeping of income and to penalize its expenditure. This is a *sine qua non* for taking care of our future capital requirements.

3. Marginal tax rates must be further reduced; so should the subsidies we are currently giving people for not working, for not farming, for having unsupported children, and for becoming drug-addicted.

Let me turn back from these serious matters to *The Triumph of Politics*. In fairness I should mention that Stockman protested excessive Social Security and other "social" expenditure. Not that the amount per person is too high. But why should people retire at 65 when life expectancy has increased, and health improved? The incentive to early retirement means that younger workers and younger taxpayers have to bear a greater burden, and a highly disincentive one at that. Stockman was right on this, as he was on other details. But he fails to explain how he would have overcome the obvious political obstacles that would have made futile and quixotic any fight to reduce Social Security, or most other subsidies. The President, the Cabinet, Congress—these are not people who have the power to do whatever is right. They can do the right thing only if they can muster popular support for it. I don't think more could have been done at the time. But the President certainly has not let an opportunity pass to make people understand what must be done now and in the future. Stockman has been of no help. His position, expounded over and over, that he alone was right, that he alone understood what was needed, and that his colleagues, out of sheer cussedness and ambition, didn't do it, is not merely naïve. It is disgustingly hypocritical.

A major part of Stockman's work is devoted to unflattering views of his *quondam* colleagues. Donald Regan is a bull in a china shop, a sycophant, and exclusively interested in turf. Caspar Weinberger, by refusing to return a Stockman phone call, cost the government billions and was habitually deceptive about the defense budget. Someone else never read a book. Etc., etc., etc. All of these allegations may be true. Or some. Or none. I don't know most of these gentlemen, but I am disinclined to believe a man who kissed—I don't know which part of the anatomy—and told. □

FEAR AND LOATHING IN NICARAGUA

Michael Fumento

With the Contras: A Reporter in the Wilds of Nicaragua, by Christopher Dickey (Simon & Schuster, 327 pp., $18.95)

THIS STORY, "the odyssey of the men who love to kill," begins in 1979, with the Rattlesnake unit of the Guardia Nacional—commanded by a very tough *hombre* called El Suicida—escaping from Sandinista rebels. We follow the soldiers' desperate flight from Nicaragua to El Salvador, where we leave them briefly for a discussion of parallel events in the United States. But when we return they are no longer the Guardia; they are the original Contras, "beginning their own war."

President Reagan, in calling for greater assistance to these men, refers to them as "freedom-fighters" and compares them to the American Founding Fathers. But Christopher Dickey, the *Washington Post*'s bureau chief for Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean from January 1980 to September 1983, regards them otherwise, and his book has provided intellectual aid and comfort to those who oppose the President's request for resumption of military aid.

In *With the Contras*, the rise of Ronald Reagan, "a former cowboy star riding a strong current of frustration and anger" to the White House in 1980, is presented in counterpoint to the rise of the Contras. The most striking characteristic of Dickey's method —his rhetoric about "the men who love to kill" notwithstanding—is its subtlety. For instance, he has nothing to say on the question of whether the CIA helped to create the Nicaraguan counter-revolution or whether it merely supplied support once that counter-revolution became established. But, with his repeated references to the CIA and the desire of America's top brass to punish the Sandinistas for aiding the Salvadoran rebels, one is led ineluctably to conclude that the problem is far less difficult of solution than that of the chicken and the egg.

"Subtle" is also the word to describe Dickey's glossing over the Sandinistas' shortcomings. Torture by the Contras is described through direct testimony from a Contra militiaman: " 'They [three deserters] were all torn up, naked, their bodies black and blue all over from the blows, as from whips. You saw the blows on their chests and their arms.' " There follow grisly descriptions of the deserters' throats being slashed. Contrast this with Dickey's (only) description of torture by Sandinista troops, in which, through the repeated use of attribution, he effectively reduces the testimony to mush. "It was a dramatic story that changed from telling to telling. How much of it is true is difficult to say. The Sandinistas made her eat her own feces, she told a woman who knew her in Honduras . . . She said her feet were smashed with rifle butts by the Sandinistas and her toenails pulled out. She told a story of being stripped and forced into a room with a wet floor and an exposed electric wire strung across it. She was made to touch it, she said, and the third time she passed out . . . Her children, she said, were taken by the Sandinistas, and she did not see them again." *She said, she told, she said.*

One can argue, of course, that the title of the book is not *With the Sandinistas*. To some extent, Dickey's problem lies in his trying too hard to present the Contras in a vacuum. In his articles on El Salvador, he appears to take the line that government oppression makes "wars of liberation" more or less inevitable. Yet he does not apply this argument to Nicaragua today.

Having chosen to focus his report on the Contras, the author restricts his field of vision still further, concentrating on a mere handful of lower-rank-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RANDOM NOTES

☐ MORE MAY TITLES: *After the Nightmare: A Survivor of the Cultural Revolution Reports on China Today* (Knopf, $16.95), by Liang Heng and Judith Shapiro, is an interesting volume of episodic reporting by a man who at the age of 12 was a fire-breathing Red Guard but who recanted after witnessing the ruination of his family and later emigrated to the United States. At the request of Deng Xiaoping's government he returned to witness the present-day state of what he calls China's "lost generation," "awakened to the folly of [China's] traditions with their passion for hierarchy and obedience to authority." . . . *Hitler's Games: The 1936 Olympics* (Harper & Row, $16.95), by Duff Hart-Davis, a British journalist, is not a sports but rather a political history, describing the means by which the Führer orchestrated one of the century's major public-relations events in order successfully to impose upon the credulity of his foreign visitors.

The Papers of George Catlett Marshall: Volume II, "We Cannot Delay," July 1, 1939-December 6, 1941 (Johns Hopkins, $35), edited by Larry I. Bland, Sharon R. Ritenour, and Clarence E. Wunderlin Jr., opens with a congratulatory note from a Japanese officer on Marshall's appointment as U.S. Army Chief of Staff. The final entry is a personal letter written to his family the day before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. . . . *The United States Navy: 200 Years* (Holt, Rinehart, $24.95), by Edward L. Beach, is an interesting history concentrating more on technical progress and administrative reform than on the formulation, development, and execution of engagement tactics.

The Late, Great Lakes: An Environmental History (Knopf, $17.95), by William Ashworth, describes the man-made hazards to which the lakes have historically been exposed—the fur trade, the lumber industry, mineral development, and the spread of heavy industry—and explains how they have combined with geographical weaknesses (the lakes' size, compounded by their poor drainage) to wreak environmental havoc. . . . In *On the Mesa* (Peregrine Smith, $14.95), John Nichols exposes the desert beauty of northwestern New Mexico, showing you life in a handful of dust. —CW

---

ing soldiers, rather than upon their leaders. Perhaps this flaw is owing to the fact that Dickey is writing about his *personal* experiences on patrol with a Contra unit. Even at that, this is not the work of a reporter who spent months with his subjects, sharing their joys and suffering their agonies. Dickey describes only one short excursion, perhaps a few weeks in duration. Most of his interviews apparently were conducted in safe areas, while the trip "into the wilds" with Suicida and his men appears to have had little purpose other than photography (Dickey took the pictures that accompany the text) and justification for the book's snazzy subtitle.

Of the Contra leaders, only Edén Pastora, the most controversial Contra and the one with whom the United States is least associated, receives detailed treatment, being described as egotistical and a womanizer. On those infrequent occasions when Dickey mentions other Contra leaders he has nothing disparaging to say about them or their motivations, which causes one to wonder whether this is, indeed, why they appear so rarely.

In the epilogue, Dickey states candidly what has long since become obvious—that he is trying to persuade us to generalize from the misconduct of a few lower-ranking soldiers to the invalidity of the cause itself, just as opponents of the Vietnam War did with Mylai. One Contra is quoted as saying, " 'Whatever happened with Suicida and Krill, whatever they did, that does not reflect the FDN [Nicaraguan Democratic Front, the main Contra force]. They were particular people who did crazy things.' " To which Dickey replies, "Yet, just as the special case of Mylai grew from the common horror of Vietnam—symbolized it, epitomized it—as the history of covert action against Nicaragua emerged in the months after Suicida's execution [by his own commander, who had found him overly zealous in ordering the execution of others], it was clear that he represented much of what was wrong with the Secret War, and much that could never be set right with it."

Dickey does not deny that the top commanders of the Contras are almost all ex-Sandinistas. But he never asks why. Have all these men left their homes and families to fight simply because they "love to kill," or is there a force at work here that Dickey refuses to reckon with?

Robert S. Leiken, who once testified before Congress against aiding the Contras, later confessed in the pages of *The New Republic* that ". . . the Sandinistas' failure to preserve the revolutionary alliance with the middle class and small producers as well as sectarian political and cultural policies [had] polarized the country, led to disinvestment, falling productivity and wages, labor discontent, and an agrarian crisis." According to Leiken, "Sympathy with the Contras is becoming more open and more pervasive. I was stunned to hear peasants refer to the Contras as '*los muchachos*,' the boys —the admiring term used to describe the Sandinistas when they were battling the National Guard." Writing in *The New York Review of Books*, Leiken has stated: "But well before the Contras became a significant military force, political and economic discontent was already creating its own recruits for counter-revolution."

One man's word against another's? Perhaps. But the sheer numbers of Contras, fighting daily in hot jungles with poor equipment and no pay, indicate that Dickey's view of the Nicaraguan turmoil is a partial one at best. Isolated incidents of American brutality did not make the North Vietnamese any less vicious or imperialistic, nor do the actions of Suicida and his like excuse Dickey, the Nicaraguan people, or any of us, from making a choice between the Contras and their opponents. On the one hand we have despots; on the other we have, perhaps, potential despots. But any inclinations the Contras might have in that direction are tempered by a knowledge the Sandinistas could not have had when they seized power. The Contras know that it is not enough for the Nicaraguan people that the Somozas

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

were thrown out. They know Nicaraguans want true freedom and that they are determined to keep on toppling governments until they get it right. □

FICTION

THE GREAT SOVIET NOVEL?

Charles Nicol

Life and Fate, by Vasily Grossman, translated by Robert Chandler (Harper & Row, 880 pp., $19.95)

THIS WORK is so impressive that we need first to put it in perspective. The translator, although apologetic about its old-fashioned style, calls *Life and Fate* "the true *War and Peace* of this century." The noun-and-noun title, the occasional references to Tolstoy, the subject matter (the battle of Stalingrad)—all indicate that the author also had such a comparison in mind. But on that exalted level, *Life and Fate* doesn't have a fair chance.

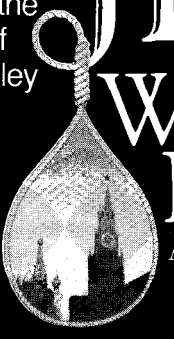
Nor is *Life and Fate* quite what *Le Monde* called it, "the great Russian novel of the twentieth century," a distinction probably reserved for Bely's *Petersburg*—or possibly Nabokov's *The Gift*. Is it the great Soviet novel? We're getting very close, but probably Bulgakov's *The Master and Margarita* takes this honor.

Olga Carlisle (a Solzhenitsyn expert) offered a less ambitious estimate in *U.S.A. Today*: "*Life and Fate* takes its place beside *The First Circle* and Boris Pasternak's *Doctor Zhivago* as a masterful evocation of the fate of Russia as it is expressed through the lives of its people." This is a solid comparison, particularly since *Life and Fate*, completed in 1960 and only recently smuggled to the West, was written in the same decade as these other important works. In my opinion, it is the best of the three.

The propaganda line of Soviet critics in lectures or conversations with Americans is that we ignore good writers acceptable to the regime and only pay attention to dissident writers of less worth. The truth has always been that the best Soviet writers get in trouble with the regime sooner or later, and that almost every figure in their

For Khrushchev, Eisenhower, and Oakes, the stakes have never been higher.

And this time, the deadly game involves even Queen Caroline and Buckingham Palace. From a covert camp for killers to a KGB trysting nest in Stockholm to the tightly closed doors of the Kremlin, Bill Buckley unwinds a chilling, heart-stopping tale of high adventure... high treason... HIGH JINX.



HIGH JINX

William F. Buckley, Jr.

A novel with Blackford Oakes

DOUBLEDAY

A MAIN SELECTION OF THE LITERARY GUILD • At bookstores everywhere

THOMAS MORE COLLEGIATE SUMMER PROGRAM FOR HIGH-SCHOOL STUDENTS

Designed to introduce collegiate materials to high-school students and recent high-school graduates, the Summer Program is a concentrated two-week study of the great questions of the age in the light of the Western and American traditions: the nature of true freedom, the purpose of our political society, the nature of heroic action, the life of a Christian in a troubled, secular age.

Readings

The Federalist Papers, the Constitution, Solzhenitsyn, Plato, Aquinas, C. S. Lewis, Sir Gawain, Beowulf, Flannery O'Connor, Victor Frankl, the Bible

Staff

Robert Augros, Ph.D., University of Laval
Mary Mumbach, Ph.D., University of Dallas
Peter V. Sampo, Ph.D., University of Notre Dame

Living Arrangements

On campus. Visits to ocean beaches, mountains, and the Freedom Trail in Boston. Daily recreation. Close supervision. Reasonable fees.

Sessions:

July 20 to August 2 (I); August 3 to August 16 (II)

Use coupon below to write for the brochure of the Program.

Dr. Peter V. Sampo
Thomas More Collegiate Summer Program
Six Manchester Street
Merrimack, N.H. 03054 Tel. 603-880-8308

Parents' Name _____

Address _____ Telephone _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Student's Name _____ Age _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

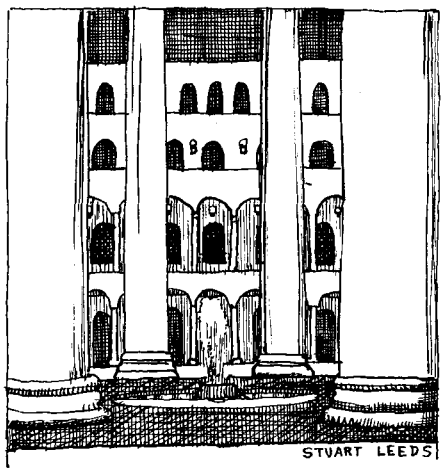
own literary histories has been reviled and then rehabilitated (perhaps Yevtushenko's tightrope act offers an exception). Nearly every dissident novel acclaimed in the United States has been by an author initially brought to our attention by publication in the Soviet Union, but whose later works were repudiated by the same Soviet critics who had first welcomed him.

Vasily Grossman was the most thoroughly accepted of all these authors. In fact, *Life and Fate* was originally intended as a sequel to *For a Just Cause*, a novel republished several times in the Soviet Union. Before that, Grossman was best known as a war reporter; he was also the first journalist to describe a Nazi concentration camp (Treblinka). On a trip to the Soviet Union two years ago, I picked up, at a used-book store, an officially published English translation of his dispatches from the Stalingrad front; they were vivid and remarkable—something between Edward R. Murrow's broadcasts from London during the blitz and Isaac Babel's *Red Cavalry*. So Grossman was certainly acceptable to the authorities. But when *Life and Fate* was submitted for publication, it was deemed anti-Soviet and the manuscript was confiscated. Grossman cooperated, was not imprisoned, and, in fact, saw official publication of one or two short later works before he died, in 1964. In those last years he also wrote another dissident novel, *Forever Flowing*, translated some time ago.

Life and Fate does indeed seem anti-Soviet; at the very least, it documents the excesses of the Stalin years with devastating effectiveness, and it is hard to imagine that Grossman actually expected the authorities to publish it. The most damning argument in the book is that Stalinism is much like Nazism, a totalitarian government heedless of its people. True, this argument is placed in the mouth of a "negative character" (the Gestapo officer Liss), but the novel supports the argument. In fact, when Liss interrogates the old Bolshevik Mostovskoy, not just his job but his methods remind us of Dostoyevsky's Grand Inquisitor—the man who utters unspeakable truths. Liss says that the Nazis learned much from the Russians about handling people, and that the Russians will soon be learning lessons in return: "You may think you hate us, but what you really hate is yourselves—yourselves in us. . . . It's paradoxical: through losing the war we shall win the war—and continue our development in a different form." The most obvious confirmation in the novel is that an anti-Semitic campaign is soon under way in Moscow. Nearly as obvious are the parallel scenes in a Nazi concentration camp and a Russian labor camp. We are familiar with this argument—Nabokov's fantastic *Bend Sinister* is organized around the identical methods of Communist and Nazi states—but we have not seen it presented before from inside the Soviet Union.

The siege of Stalingrad and the eventual Russian victory were high points of Soviet history and probably of Grossman's life as well. They are indeed the subject of an epic. But Stalin's new round of purges and intensification of state socialism are clearly seen here as betrayals of the Russian spirit. By the end of the novel, one of Stalingrad's defenders is being methodically beaten in the Lubyanka prison, while the brilliant tank commander who led his corps to victory is under suspicion.

As in the classic Russian novels, dozens of characters wander through these pages, with fascinating appearances by both Hitler and Stalin as well as other historical figures. There are no villains, no melodramatic scenes; every word is confident, lucid, certain. None of the characters is ideal, but all of them, even the Germans, are more noble when suffering than when on top of things. The most extended portrait is of the scientist Viktor Shtrum, whose mathematical triumph in subatomic physics comes in the afterglow of an evening of liberal drinking and dangerously liberal conversation. Instead of winning a Stalin Prize, he finds himself under suspicion. But after a personal call from Stalin (who has learned he needs all the atomic physicists he can get), Shtrum becomes one of the fatcats, rapidly evolving into a self-satisfied bureaucrat. The translator suggests that Shtrum is, in part, a portrait of Grossman himself—and if so, Grossman sees himself in no very kind light for his compromises with authority. But individual figures are less important than the weave of the tapestry, and one nameless Russian woman who nearly stones a captured German officer but then offers him a piece of bread instead is perhaps more important in her anonymity than the characters Grossman probes at length. Kindness is a gift, a surprise that belongs to the suffering. As a Russian prisoner of war (apparently a follower of Tolstoy) puts it in a manuscript included in *Life and Fate*, "This kindness, this stupid kindness, is what is most truly human in a human being." □



FINDING THE LEGEND

D. Keith Mano

What's Bred in the Bone, by Robertson Davies (Viking, 436 pp., $17.95)

IF YOU WERE to presume, as this elegant, melodious novel does, that the modern painter could perfectly (and radiantly) assimilate some antique style —in theme, technique, paraphernalia, in spiritual outlook even—then you engage also a most unmanageable question: i.e., is this Raphael or van Eyck of 1986 mere splendid hoax or powerful art? Francis Cornish, the protagonist here, has done just that. Critics judge his work, painted with magisterial élan, to be both Gothic in extraction and magnificent. Cornish doesn't disabuse them. The matter is crucial to all awareness of art and deserves regard.

As defense counsel I would adopt this line: if the work is striking, if it has force, centeredness, all affects of vast painterly endeavor, then it is great art. *Hamlet* written today would be *Hamlet* and Elizabethan nonetheless. A prosecutor, in rebuttal, might respond that no technique can apprentice itself absolutely to the Zeitgeist of another age, genius notwithstanding. It must, at core, be hollow, even if criticism cannot penetrate it. The imposture itself (though fraud was not

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Cornish's first intent) is spirit-killing enough. And, anyhow, what historical instance do we know? How could we know it, except in fiction—since knowledge of the misrepresentation destroys credibility on contact. *Ossian* wasn't all that bad. Now, though, it can be read only as a failed venture in deception.

Still, I would find for the defendant. Overmuch blind deference has been accorded to authenticity in our day. Underneath that trend is a deep repudiation of the imaginative enterprise. Where once artists were visionary, today they are, at best, docudramatic. As in Leningrad, the poet and painter should first disseminate social relevance or, failing that, some hard circumstantial information. Blacks, women, policemen alone have a franchise to depict black, female, precinct experience. (Styron, despite his influence in the liberal community, was reproved for *Nat Turner* and *Sophie's Choice*.) Detail and historical pedigree become adequate validation, then prosthetic device. *Mrs. Soffel*, for instance, was a dull and implausible film. It would've had no power or license whatever but for the phrase "This Story Is True," which appeared up front—and which, we should presume, was sufficient to defuse all criticism. As if truth could be neither implausible nor dull. We have no desire now to suspend disbelief willingly, as Coleridge once advised. Perhaps because that is the condition both of a receptive audience and of a victim. We are reluctant to be taken in: OSHA and Ralph Nader don't approve of fiction.

You suppose I exaggerate. Well, not much. Recently there was an advertisement for the She-Ra, Princess of Power toy in *People* magazine. Young child staring up, all rapture, all astonishment, at Pegasus-like horse flying with Amazonette on its back. And, in one corner of the ad, I saw this proviso: "Angella doll will not fly unaided." I mean, forget about *caveat emptor*. To such a mad degree now do the guardians of truth think we need to be defended against imagination. Yet art isn't real: the word itself announces that. Even in a presumably realistic form, art is representative, selective, elaborated. Moreover, artists often antagonize their age. In the Zeitgeist, but not of it. Is Blake an eighteenth- or nineteenth-century poet? Does Caravaggio personate 1590? Through an insubstantial present, art can prefigure future modes, while eliciting resonance from the past. Can be, in fact, inauthentic, inaccurately dated, counterfeit.

And so around to the original matter: is Robertson Davies a post-modern novelist? Francis Cornish, certainly, has stood surrogate for the author. Part of Davies's purpose here is to sanction his own "moral and philosophical" (read: old-masterish) fictional undertaking. The style, yes, has a Shavian meander: leisurely and thick with genial cynicism. Third-person narration intrudes in a way now thought to be "inorganic." But there is modern management enough: you aren't dealing with Henry James here. The book, in fact, is gravid, wise, important: which qualities transcend any critical carbon dating.

Cornish has been warned by his mentor, "Don't try to fake the modern manner if it isn't right for you. Find your legend." Cornish empathizes best with an earlier, more comprehensive and fraternal Christian period. He (and his creator) don't relate well to post-modernism and its personal, analysis-inspired imagery. Personal myth can become private and self-inflating. And, for that matter, more easily faked. While art critics may detect imprecision in the Christian subtext of a fraudulent van Eyck, there is no authoritative key to personal vision. For this reason, as much as any, our artist/audience relationship has capsized. The viewer will tend to distrust imagination when it no longer serves a general understanding. When it has become crabbed, secret, overspecific. And, reluctant to be taken in, we are also not willing to be swept away. □

Nicola Paone

ITALIAN RESTAURANT

"As for favorite restaurants, in New York, at **Nicola Paone,** if you are a nice, conservative, appreciative guest, he will shower you with the best food, wine, and service in the world."
—*William F. Buckley Jr.*

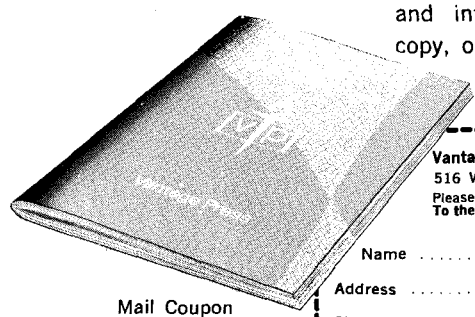
207 East 34th Street • New York
(212) 889-3239

To the author in search of a publisher

YOU ARE INVITED to send for a free, illustrated brochure which explains how your book (or your organization's) can be published, promoted and marketed.

Whether your subject is fiction, non-fiction or poetry, scientific, scholarly, specialized (even controversial) this handsome 40 page brochure will show you how to arrange for prompt publication.

Unpublished authors, especially, will find this booklet valuable and informative. For your free copy, or more information, fill in and mail the coupon.



Mail Coupon for your Free Copy

Vantage Press, Inc. Dept. AO-1
516 West 34th St., New York, N.Y. 10001
Please send me a complimentary copy of **To the Author in Search of a Publisher.**

Name .....
Address .....
City ..... State ..... Zip .....

Offices in Washington, D.C. and Hollywood, Calif.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PUBLICATIONS

(ALMOST) BANNED IN BRITAIN

Joseph Sobran

A TELLING COMMENT on the climate of modern intellectual life was made a few years ago by the biologist Garrett Hardin, who remarked that the dissenter from Darwin "inevitably attracts the speculative psychiatric eye to himself." The opinion cartels have ways of policing the streets even without the aid of the state.

For confirmation, consult the fate of the *Salisbury Review*, a conservative British quarterly. Some of its contributors—Jeane Kirkpatrick, F. A. Hayek, Anthony Flew, P. T. Bauer—are too big to be vulnerable. But others have lost academic promotions, suffered personal harassment, and been hounded from jobs.

The *Review* itself gets attacked and vilified in the left-wing press, at academic conferences, even on the BBC. A sociologist at a recent meeting expressed his "growing concern" at the rise of the "New Right" in Britain, citing the *Review* as one reason for alarm. Others denounce its "scientific incompetence" and "racism." Under pressure from socialists, a book publisher, Longman, abruptly terminated a contract with the *Review*, pleading that it was not a profitable venture—though Longman had recently approached the *Review* with a takeover bid.

When the Longman incident became public knowledge, the leftist *Guardian* carried a letter arguing that though the magazine is certainly loathsome, coercion perhaps ought not to be used against opinions that are still legally permissible. This prompted the magazine's editor, Roger Scruton, to comment: "Since the opinions of the *Salisbury Review* are not a million miles from those of a party which has twice in succession been voted into government, it is comforting to know that the law still permits their expression."

The fuss is amazing—and disturbing. The *Salisbury Review* is an apparently staid magazine with a tiny circulation and the usual problems of keeping afloat financially. Even in America it would be more hated than menaced.

The explanation is that it is intellectually potent. It opens questions that the Left had trusted were safely closed. The nearest analogy to the furor it has created among intellectuals is that created in politics by Enoch Powell in the Sixties. And like Powell, it has serious things to say. That's what makes it inflammatory in spite of itself.

Scruton explains the *Review*'s general position:

> The mistaken idea that conservatism means the extension of the free market into every area of human endeavor has provided the modern socialist with his principal remaining argument—namely, that the conservative is even more destructive of institutions than he is. We have tried to qualify and to subdue the simpleminded evangelism of the marketeers, and to remind our readers that there are more important things at stake than economic achievement. We have shown a continuous concern for the "social question," as it now presents itself, arguing not against the welfare state as such, but against its corruption by interest groups and radical conspiracies. We have raised (to our cost, but perhaps to the nation's gain) the questions of immigration and national identity, and argued for a new effort to integrate the Asian and West Indian communities into a social and political order that is recognizably British. (This is the "racist" component of our philosophy.) We have also taken sides in a variety of modern controversies—ranging from those over the liturgy and the secular enthusiasms of the established church to that concerning the authenticity of musical performance.

The *Review* carries frequent communiqués, often necessarily anonymous, from Eastern Europe. A refugee named Dmitry Mikheyev recently recalled "Five Meetings with Misha Gorbachev" dating back to the Fifties. If Western liberals have quietly given up on New Soviet Man, they seem to have transferred their faith to New Soviet Boss. Gorbachev in particular has impressed a lot of them as Mr. Openness, displaying New Soviet Charm. It seems that Gorbachev has been affecting his smarmy style for a long time. Mikheyev recounts Gorbachev's personal visit to his cell on the eve of his sentencing for trying to defect to the West:

> "Dmitry, let's face it, you committed a terrible crime against our dear Motherland. Just consider: She gave you food, clothing, medicaid, and the best education in the world, she gave you life itself, considering that you were born in a state-run hospital—and what do you do in return? You try to escape from the most progressive social system there is to the decadent world of the bourgeoisie. That's appalling, Dmitry! Now, if I were your father, I might have settled for giving you a dozen good lashes and let you go, but . . ." He sounded truly fatherly. "Listen! Strictly speaking, you deserve to be shot, but it is no longer Stalin's time, and we are not bloodthirsty. If now, when the trial resumes, you renounce your mistakes, we will treat you mildly."

Mikheyev agreed to admit his mistakes. That's why he got only eight years in the labor camps.

The *Salisbury Review* (7 Lord North Street, London SW1, England) is packed with stimulating and satisfying essays on many subjects; some of the best are about conservative authors, from Shakespeare to Oakeshott. There is nothing like it in the U.S., and it is still legal. I will write more about it soon. □

SOUND ON DISC

MOZART AT THE PIANO, PLUS

Ralph de Toledano

IT WAS ONCE the musicological wisdom that Mozart's piano sonatas were, as one critic condescendingly described them, "work undertaken sometimes merely to point the lesson for an interesting pupil." Mozart himself con-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tributed to this notion by marking the C Major "a small sonata for beginners" —a whimsy that led to its slaughter by generations of students. (It is forgotten that this sonata was completed on the same day as the Symphony No. 39 in E Flat, when he was at the height of his powers.)

The piano was Mozart's favorite instrument, and he employed it for some of his most personal and introspective expression. When the boy Mozart broke in on the London musical scene in 1765, plucked keyboard instruments were slowly being phased out—replaced by the fortepiano, with its wide percussive, dynamic, and tonal possibilities. He grew, and grew up with the piano, which in a sense became a part of him. Not, of course, that he had a monopoly on the instrument. "Papa" Haydn reached deeper down its throat, as Paul Badura-Skoda has shown us. But in a special way, Mozart was the master, the technician, the acolyte of its every device.

Now, in *Les Dernières Sonates de Mozart*, recorded by Paul Badura-Skoda for Astrée (and released in this country by Harmonia Mundi U.S.A., 3364 South Robertson Boulevard, Los Angeles, Calif. 90034), we can hear the Sonata in C Minor (with its companion *Fantaisie*), the F Major, the C Major, the B Flat Major, and the D Major brought together in one album of shimmering and sturdy music and performance (AS 919). These are compositions I have heard over the years in the concert hall and on recordings. But never have I had the sense of revelation, the cutting to the bone of these scores, as in Badura-Skoda's traversals.

What we have here in full display is not merely the thematic inventiveness and contrapuntal complexities of Mozart's free-ranging mind, but the subtleties of tone and texture, the explicit statement of daring and entrancing harmonies, the cascading lyricism —a musical unbuttoning. They are a product of Badura-Skoda's probing understanding of score and instrument. And there is an added factor. These sonatas are played not on a modern concert grand but on a Schantz fortepiano, an instrument contemporaneous with Mozart. This, as Badura-Skoda has himself noted, does not guarantee fidelity to the composer's intent. But it does eliminate the "tinkle" of the modern piano's brilliance and sonority, the overdrive that obfuscates rather than elucidates.

In other reviews of Badura-Skoda's recordings, I have commented on the excellence of their recorded quality, the quietness of the vinyl surfaces, and the "presence" that the engineers have given us. These Mozart sonatas, however, are also available on compact discs (E 7703 and E 7704), and this is an experience in itself. As you listen, you feel that you are not too many feet from the performer in an eighteenth-century salon, and feel too the physical quality of the instrument as it projects what the fingers have dictated—if I may be allowed a coinage, the *Hammerklavierkeit*. The very best of earlier recording techniques were never like this.

In writing of these piano sonatas, I hope I have not given the impression that they are an Alpha-Baedeker of Mozart's entire *œuvre*. The symphonies are what we hear most, and in them Mozart had solved, for himself at least, the problems of orchestral composition. He had also discovered, as the musicologist Paul Henry Lang remarked, that the instruments have souls. Since each soul has its logic, this imposed on Mozart imperatives that transcended personal frustrations, angers, and despairs. Where one would have expected a "romantic" pessimism and tempestuousness in his later writings, there is a kind of pensive majesty to the last five symphonies. The joyousness of his earlier writing is gone, but he never maunders.

Of these last symphonies, I respond most positively to No. 38 in D, the "Prague"—less clenched than those that followed. We have it now (with No. 36 in C, the "Linz") by Jeffrey Tate and the English Chamber Orchestra (Angel EMI AE-34468) and by Neville Marriner and the Academy of St. Martin-in-the-Fields (with No. 39 in E Flat, Angel EMI DS-38238). I would recommend the Tate recording. The Marriner interpretation is too heavy for my taste and is over-recorded in the bass, particularly in the first movement, which rumbled on both my sets of equipment. In the Tate, the inner voices can be more clearly heard, perhaps because he uses a smaller orchestra. The richness is never lost in sound. Tate, moreover, gives the beat almost as if he were conducting the Mannheim Orchestra, and can we ask for anything more? □

FILM

THINKING SMALL

John Simon

AMERICANS ARE NOT good at making small movies. Almost from the very beginning, it was the big movie that made history: *Birth of a Nation* and *Intolerance*, not *Broken Blossoms* and *Way Down East*. I am not speaking of comedians' films, an American specialty all the way from the silent-screen comics to Woody Allen before he became the American Bergman. Nor am I speaking of genre films—Westerns, gangster movies, musicals, etc.—which, however successful, depend on formulas rather than individual contributions. The only true exception to this sad rule is the screwball comedy, in which originality could and often did have a merry *new* time of it. But the characters in screwball comedies were picked for their oddness and overindulged in madcap activities; what seems to be so very hard for American filmmakers is to handle basic everyday situations without sentimentalizing them—a syndrome of which Frank Capra is the most glorious and glaring example.

Why should this be so? Somehow Americans do not deal in subtle effects; they specialize in primary colors where plot is concerned, and in black and white for matters of morality. Not for them the inconspicuous details of behavior, the more intricate ambiguities of right and wrong. It is an armor of innocence that girds the loins and ossifies the brain. There have, ac-

Call for any current book
● Amex, MasterCard, Visa or check.
● We ship immediately, anywhere in the world. ● Gift wrapping available.
● Mail orders welcome.
BOOK CALL
1-800-255-2665
In CT or Worldwide (203) 966-5470
59 Elm Street, New Canaan, CT 06840

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cordingly, never been American equivalents to such films as, say, *The White Sheik*, *Tokyo Story*, *Le Crime de Monsieur Lange*, *The Blue Angel*, *Intimate Lighting*, *Smiles of a Summer Night*, *L'avventura*, *Brief Encounter*, *The Fire Within*, *Umberto D.*, *Forbidden Games*, *Ikiru*—to name a random dozen in which, regardless of type or form, delicacies of every kind proliferate. The nearest we can get to this sort of thing is *Badlands*, *Handle with Care* (*Citizens' Band*), *They Shoot Horses, Don't They?* or *Smile*, but even such films, good as they are, tend to resort to special situations, extreme behavior, unlikely plot twists. American ordinariness must always edge toward the extraordinary.

Yet how nice it would be, in these days of skyrocketing costs, to make

THE RIGHT BOOKS / CHILTON WILLIAMSON JR.

I OWE MY discovery of *The History of Rome Hanks and Kindred Matters* to my friend Jim Tate, who for 18 months goaded and prodded me long-distance into buying and reading the novel; just as his father had goaded and prodded him—for 25 years—into doing the same thing. For unarticulated reasons, I feel convinced that the author of the book, Mr. Joseph Stanley Pennell—a native of Junction City, Kansas, dead these 23 years—would somehow have approved of the circumstances of this transmission.

The History of Rome Hanks was first published by Scribner's in 1944, and it became an instant literary and commercial success. Maxwell Perkins, who midwifed it, said: "An editor does not come across such talent more than five or six times in his life. . . . I really do not believe I ever saw a war piece that excelled it, not forgetting Tolstoy." Well, Tolstoy is laying it on a bit thick: but then, the manuscript must have appealed, instantly and powerfully, to Perkins's particular tastes, as a striking amalgam of Thomas Wolfe's *Look Homeward, Angel* and William Faulkner's *Absalom, Absalom!*—at least as regards its protagonist, Lee Harrington, who recalls to mind both Eugene Gant and Quentin Compson.

After that, the novel seems to have dropped from sight entirely, although Pennell went on to publish two lesser works (*The History of Nora Beckham*, in 1948, and *The History of Thomas Wagnal*, in 1951); in addition to which, I am told, an admirer printed a volume of his (very bad) poetry after his death. But now an interesting enterprise called Second Chance Press (which specializes, as the name suggests, in exhuming worthy but neglected titles, and whose address is RD 2, Noyac Road, Sag Harbor, N.Y. 11963) has republished *Rome Hanks* at the price of $16.95 cloth, $10.95 paper, and to what should be the unsuspected delight of connoisseurs of American literature. Although the novelist's technique—particularly in the handling of flashbacks, consciousness in time, and the overlaying of multiple consciousnesses—is crude in comparison with Faulkner's, and although the structure is irritatingly flawed (we do not really learn enough, for example, about Romulus Lycurgus), the overall effect—for its characterizations, its dramatic narrative, and above all, perhaps, the power of its rhetoric—is formidable.

The integrating consciousness of the novel ("protagonist" being not quite the word) is a callow, ineffectual, neurotic near-invalid of twenty-odd, who lives in a YMCA room in St. Louis, from which he listlessly pursues an apparently will-o'-the-wisp career and a statuesque blonde airhead from the wealthy suburbs. Having nothing but a half-imaginary family history with which to impress her, he tells her stories concerning his grandfather Harrington, "a fine old Southern gentleman," only to discover that he cannot drop the subject with half-truths, that he must set out on an integrative adventure in reconstructing the past, which he eventually accomplishes by conversing with aging relatives and their surviving acquaintances.

> But I went back and looked again and heeded, forgetting why (Christa's face and hair and bored voice) I was looking and heeding. And, therefore, perhaps because celestial computation of direction begins with the North, I struck out into the mysteries of my Yankee grandsires: That is how I came to heed Gaines's Mill and Shiloh and Thomas Beckham and Romulus Lycurgus Hanks. . . . I am the soldier who never fired a shot, never marched a mile, never bled a cubic centimeter that freedom might not vanish from the earth—or that I might go home to Vincennes, Indiana, and marry the banker's daughter. I buried no dead, carried no lock of female hair in my wallet, ran no guns up to the enemy's works by hand, and never stained my lips with bitten cartridges. Yet because of something that happened before my grandfathers came to Kansas, I know these things.

Inexorably, the rivulets and tributaries of four generations draw together and swell—to create, finally, the puny subjective stream that is himself, birthed in the dusty military town of Fork City, Kansas, in the early morning of July 4, 1904, to the "*Buhloom! Buhloom!*" of firecrackers whose uproar ironically recalls for the reader the Napoleon cannons of Shiloh and Pickett's Charge: bloody episodes in a war in which none of its survivors believe, although it remains the high-water mark of their lives, beyond which all is anticlimax and quiet tragedy.

It is hard to say, even from the vantage point of 42 years later, whether *Rome Hanks* is really a great American novel or not—on a level, say, with *The Sun Also Rises*, *The Sound and the Fury*, and *The Great Gatsby*. But no one who reads it will forget its account of Pickett's Charge, or Wagnal's vision of Katherine as she stands at the bottom of the staircase, dressed in a ball gown and surrounded by "the faint hot current of the burning wax" before ironically relieving Clint Belton of his sword. Nor is the pathos of the war, nor that of the passage of time and youth ("I am not, even now, different from you. I am as young and stubborn—except for a certain sclerosis of tissue and thought, except for an overt appearance of the hide, which sags and flaps in the wind, except for the bloodshot eyes and the dirty, careless dribblings of egg and whisky on my shirt bosom and mustache . . . I still desire—"), easily cast off. *Rome Hanks* would have been a better book, perhaps, if it had been written as a war, instead of a family, novel. But, as it is, it remains a splendid cenotaph to its author, as well as to what appears retrospectively to have been the Augustan Age in American literature. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

low-budget but decent adult movies, relevant to mature lives, rather than the omnipresent horror, sci-fi, high-school, escapist fantasy, or sex-and-violence trash that infests our screens. It is typical that when a film finally addresses a problem such as that of old age, it turns out to be *Cocoon*, where geriatric dilemmas are viewed from a juvenile standpoint, and the morally queasy solution involves extra-terrestrial intervention. And it is because of this vacuum in adult movies that films a bit closer to adult issues, even if they are as crummy as *The Color Purple*, become seemingly valuable and successful.

A few small-scale films that try to come to grips with problems of everyday life have appeared lately. Thus there is *Desert Bloom* (not to be confused with *Desert Hearts*, an inept lesbian romance), a first film by Eugene Corr, the writer-director, in collaboration with Linda Remy, a social scientist. It takes place in Las Vegas during the early Fifties, when atom bombs were tested in the open nearby and the citizenry would foregather for early breakfast on their porches to watch the explosion. This is the story of Jack Chismore, a simpleminded and disturbed World War II veteran, married to Lily, who has three young daughters from a previous marriage. Jack and Lily have matching virtues and weaknesses: He is a moral and hard-working garage owner trying to fight off war-begotten nightmares that drive him to drink; she is warding off a fatal love of gambling by working hard for the Army and being a good mother and housekeeper.

Lily must toil especially on maintaining peace between her husband and Rose, her eldest, a bright, introverted, earnest girl on whom Jack takes out his repressed sexual yearnings. To complicate matters, Starr, Lily's younger, sexpot sister, comes to stay with them for the obligatory 42 days it takes to get a quickie divorce. Though she has a heart of gold and wins Rose's affection, Starr, with her crude sexuality, deeply affects Jack, and the Chismore home soon becomes as explosive a testing ground as the Yucca Flats beyond. The story is told largely from Rose's point of view, which would be fine, except that what should deal with a parlous coming of age promptly heads for absurd melodramatics and incredible oversimplification. Neither the husband-wife nor the stepfather-stepdaughter relationship is analyzed with sufficient sensitivity and insight, any more than Rose's friendship with a Jewish schoolmate or Starr's involvement with the Chismores gets a more than perfunctory treatment.

But I am not concerned with analyzing this mediocre film in detail, only with showing two emblematic ways in which it fails. Rose wins an important spelling championship by correctly spelling the word *mensch*. Can you imagine a Las Vegas high school in 1951 in which a Yiddish word is calmly accepted as the tie-breaker in an interscholastic spelling bee? There is something so anachronistic (though it would be pretty absurd even today) about this that you promptly mistrust the basic authenticity and integrity of the film. And what are we to make of the resolution of *Desert Bloom*? One quixotic gesture of kindness from Jack solves everything: the Jack-Rose problem, the Jack-Lily problem, the Jack-Starr problem, and even the Jack-Jack problem—his trauma, his drinking, his violence. The writer-director comments: "In the end, *Desert Bloom* insists that there must be a future not only for the Chismores but [no "also"] for all of us."

Well, we're in sorry shape if our chances of survival are no better than the Chismores'. And as if unearned optimism weren't bad enough, Corr must inflate his simplistic solution into a philosophical meliorism as misty as it is megalomaniacal. Who are "all of us": Americans? Humanity? People who fall for the panaceas of pop culture? There are some very good actors trapped in this film—Jon Voight, Jo-Beth Williams, Ellen Barkin, and, as Rose, the newcomer Annabeth Gish—but their presence serves only to remind us what such a film might have become in the hands of a true artist.

WHICH BRINGS me to the small, sincere, loving films that Horton Foote has been writing. All are, or seem to be, based on a cycle of stage plays he has been tirelessly turning out over the years, plays that form a family chronicle of his small-town Texas kinfolk and their friends and fellow townspeople. Most recently we have had *The Trip to Bountiful*, in which Geraldine Page, the first baglady of the American theater, hammed her way to an Oscar, and, just now, *On Valen-*

Announcing...a very special edition of William F. Buckley Jr.'s

ATLANTIC HIGH

Communications Distribution, Inc., has acquired the original manuscript of Mr. Buckley's best-selling book *Atlantic High*, and is proud to announce the availability of a unique collector's edition. One page of the original manuscript, typed by the author and corrected, by hand, with his usual red-ink pen, is included with each copy of this special edition. It consists of an original first-run copy of *Atlantic High* itself, handsomely bound in fine leather and stamped in gold, which is encased in a sturdy box covered in white sailcloth (just like the real thing). The box contains a large pull-out drawer in which you will have the manuscript page—autographed by the author—in a plastic cover; you may preserve the page in this cover, or remove it easily for framing. The handsome original four-color dust-jacket of *Atlantic High* is also enclosed in the drawer—it can also be framed.

Each boxed copy of this special Manuscript Edition is therefore unique; the owner will be the *only* one to possess that particular manuscript page. We believe such an edition is a first in publishing history. The cost is $300 a copy, while they last (obviously the supply cannot exceed the limited number of original pages). You may order now directly from the address below.

Write to:

Communications Distribution, Inc.

150 East 35th Street
New York, N.Y. 10016

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tine's Day, a prequel to *1918*, which I reviewed here some time ago. Now, Foote is the sort of writer who observes provincial life minutely and affectionately without *deliberately* glossing over its lowly tragedies and spiritual attrition. This is the Gothic South (you wonder how the two or three sane people in town manage to minister to the assorted loonies who beset them without losing their own sanity) and you can't help feeling that Foote is an epigone. From O'Connor to McCullers, from Faulkner to Capote, from Williams to Welty, this territory has been plowed to smithereens: Not one lump of lovable craziness, ferocious eccentricity, or comic despair has been left unturned.

Too bad, because Foote has radar in his eyes and ears, and a good sense of destiny even if not of economy. But he lets his characters take him in: He believes their stories too readily, makes as many excuses for them as they do for themselves, and admits of no villains: The mother and daughter-in-law of *The Trip to Bountiful* who drive each other crazy are both really good underneath; the jilting madman and jilted drunkard of *On Valentine's Day* are victims of circumstance, fundamentally sweet, and Foote relishes their tiny preposterousnesses to the point of pointless iteration. The final effect is neither funny nor sad, just ludicrous.

The conclusion is not that happy families have no histories (these families, in any case, are not happy), but that the happy historian cannot make them worth attending to. Accepting the weird without an underlying sense of evil, substituting forgiveness for every grain of moral indignation, trivializes life into a banal serenity. Even a man's suicide ends up looking grotesque, almost humorous, as it is absorbed into a great, flattening benignity. Though most of the acting in *On Valentine's Day* is very good (save Steven Hill's unimaginative Cousin George), it is all getting to be as dull as seeing that same little Texas town in movie after nostalgic movie: Since only three or four locations are still usable, the continuity is as full of gaps as the logic. Shooting in the studio would look more real.

So if these particular small films do not break their necks in unsuccessful leaps after "big" significance, they work their undoing by sinking into the morass of their ultimate insignificance. □

DELECTATIONS

AU REVOIR, NOUVELLE CUISINE

Nika Hazelton

THANK HEAVEN, Americans are now getting over their excessive interest in food novelties that cost a fortune in the so-called gourmet stores. I agree that nouvelle cuisine, especially American nouvelle cuisine, fulfilled its purpose of not only benefiting its advocates, but making the nation at large aware of the fact that our native ingredients are as good as any found in Europe, if and when they are really fresh. We have also learned to choose lighter foods, since we don't need the amount of rich food that people did when they were living in cold houses, were inadequately dressed, and, above all, suffered from much poorer health. (Thank the Lord for modern medicine.)

But now trendy nouvelle cuisine is giving way to a revival of home cooking, tailored to today's needs. I know this from the kind of cookbooks I see; from the abandoning of nouvelle cuisine by such bellwether restaurants as the Manhattan Market in New York City; from the fact that the august food editor of the *New York Times* recently featured good old American fish cakes rather than fancy French dishes in that newspaper's Sunday magazine; from Julia Child, who has made a new myth of herself by going American—to mention just a few trendsetters in the food world.

I am happy to see that people once again are thinking of putting an honest meal on their tables, at least for special occasions. I have always thought that people who love fine restaurant food should eat it in a fine restaurant. At home, they should offer simple but well-cooked dishes. I serve my fancy guests homemade chili, and reserve filets and salmon for my friends who can't afford fine restaurants.

I don't believe that the family meal of yesteryear is coming back, alas, since the family is no longer what it used to be. Thus I am most grateful to a new cookbook called *A Continual Feast* by Evelyn Birge Vitz (Harper & Row, $16.95), which features foolproof recipes of a most pleasing variety and, as the subtitle of the book says, "celebrates the joys of family and faith throughout the Christian year." The book gives us some 275 recipes from all over the world for all the special days Christians celebrate or ought to celebrate. There is a lot of good reading, what with background information, anecdotes, quotations from the Bible, theological and gastronomical sources, and useful tips on matters such as making meals for unexpected visitors and baking with children.

The recipes, thoroughly tested and eminently feasible, are the nicest kind of home cooking. Mrs. Vitz's approach to family meals impressed me greatly. This attractive and very warm lady has five children between the ages of two and 14 (and very little help), and she is also an associate professor of French and an expert in Medieval and Renaissance studies at New York University. She told me that making special food on special days and telling her children the whys of her food kept alive her family meals and even kindled her children's interest in different kinds of food. I wish I had known Mrs. Vitz in the days when I was trying to interest my boys in good food and in different foods, largely because I think good food is one of the few lasting pleasures of life.

A Continual Feast deals with the Christian year in both recipes and text, but the whole formula and approach would work for any organized religion. As a matter of fact, a friend tells me that Jewish holiday cookbooks exist and that she will show me hers the next time I see her; I hope those books are as well done as *A Continual Feast.*

ANOTHER INFORMATIVE and charming book deals with the most luscious cakes a cook ever made. *Victorian Cakes*, by Caroline B. King, has at last been re-issued as a paperback by Aris Books ($9.95), with an introduction by Jill Gardner. Subtitled *A Reminiscence with Recipes*, the book transports us back to the days when Womanhood in the Kitchen was in Full Flower. Mrs. King was a professional writer for the leading magazines of her time (she died in 1948). She also homesteaded in Idaho, where she taught home economics to the Nez Percé women, and became Head Army Dietician in 1917 and spent World War I in France. Mrs. Gardner, a food writer for the *Chicago Tribune*, rescued

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the book from oblivion and has provided information on the Victorian ingredients and how to make these majestic, totally delicious cakes today.

I was delighted when I rediscovered this book, which I had seen a very long time ago—it came out in 1941—and I propose to give it to all my friends who love desserts but feel, as I do, that they must be worth their calories. "If I knowed you was a-comin' I'd a' baked you a cake" is a truth I cherish, because a fine cake shows that one really cares. □

(Coming soon: the results of the Great New Delectations Contest.)

BOOKS IN BRIEF

Mata Hari: The True Story, by Russell Warren Howe (Dodd, Mead, 292 pp., $17.95)

SHE STOOD five feet nine inches, and had absolutely no bust. She rarely smiled and was rarely on time. She was a father-seeker in men, but gave her heart to a chap young enough to be her son. She slept with lovers on an "almost industrial" scale, made the striptease acceptable, and, when she was shot by the French in 1917 on charges of espionage for Germany, blew a kiss to her executioners. Is it any wonder that around this Frisian country lass who called herself "The Light of Day" legends have clustered ever since? Is it also any wonder that only a single serious study of her has appeared until now, Sam Waagenaar's *Mata Hari* (1965)? Now, however, Mr. Howe, an Anglo-American historian, has produced a fuller account. Through favoritism and luck he penetrated the French military archives and has emerged with a well-written if sardonic biography. Because certain files are still closed or missing, he cannot answer all the questions about "the best-known spy name in the world." Nor has he disclosed by what magic of personality "she charmed men as infallibly as sugar and arsenic charm flies." But he has pulled off one of the basic requirements of biography: He made at least one reader—who agrees that Mata Hari was "superficial, supercilious, self-indulgent"—nevertheless feel a pang of response toward this girl. CURTIS CARROLL DAVIS

BROOKHISER

(Continued from page 47)

from colored folk, and we slam them when they don't deliver.

In the modern world, democracy covers a multitude of sins, and Palme was a democrat. The elections one holds don't have to be particularly fair. Consider the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), which has run Mexico these sixty years. Its thefts have bled the economy dry; it has shown its willingness, most recently during the student upheavals of the late Sixties, to shoot down hundreds of people when necessary. It is not even Caucasian. But every six years, the president retires; and his successor submits to the (always successful) test of an election. Duvalier occasionally went through the motions, and his father originally came to power in a free election. But young Duvalier never mastered the Mexicans' attention to electoral nuance, and so his victories were dismissed, rightly, as frauds.

Palme, by contrast, was a scrupulous democrat, albeit an inept one: He was the first Social Democrat to lose an election since 1932, and he spent most of his time in office at the head of minority governments, bolstered by smaller parties (often the Swedish Communists). But he played the game, and reaped the world's respect.

Palme, finally, used the right idiom. If you want to be defended in polite society, you have to be the sort of person who can appear in polite society. Duvalier and his bugaboo government were forever excluded from decent intellectual company. It was not that thinking people did not agree with voodoo; they would not agree to debate it. It is off the intellectual map. It may be, as I was told in college, that Americans spend more money every year on astrology than on astronomy. That doesn't count (more precisely: The Americans who buy horoscopes don't count). The closest the average Beltway commuter/*Times* reader/CEO/assistant professor comes to a tarot pack is *The Waste Land.* No serious person could take seriously a man who believed in black magic or, more importantly, believed in using its power to manipulate others.

Palme made no such mistake. Probably few serious Americans would accept the whole of his world view, in its full, ant-like sterility. But many accept large chunks of it. And those who do not, feel the need to engage it. Palmeism observes the forms of science, sociology, democracy. It is on the agenda; it is up for debate. So it goes with figures much more significant, and pernicious, than Palme. Confronted with Marx, or some other hater or wrecker, good manners require us to say, "Yes, deep, very deep," and "if," and "but," and "on the other hand," before settling down to work.

Thus it helps most of all to be on the side of the big battalions. The chief intellectual result of World War II was that the form of totalitarianism which masquerades as the Enlightenment survived, while the form which masqueraded as Romanticism disappeared. If it had gone the other way around, there might have ensued a decades-long, worldwide climate of irrationalism in which someone like Duvalier could have moved in from the mental boondocks, while someone like Palme, if he had not forthrightly chosen the embattled cause of freedom, would have been left out in the unfashionable cold. But it did not happen that way, and the world distributed its honors accordingly. May Palme rest in peace, and Duvalier enjoy the south of France. □

THE GREAT UNIVERSITIES

provided the ground for the important political leaders, philosophers, theologians, scientists, lawyers, poets, and religious of the past.

Our college program is based on the Humanities as discerned in the great books of Western civilization and as seen through the eyes of the Christian humanist.

THOMAS MORE INSTITUTE OF LIBERAL ARTS

FOR CATALOGUE AND BROCHURE WRITE TO:

DR. PETER V. SAMPO
Thomas More Institute of Liberal Arts
Six Manchester Street
Merrimack, N.H. 03054

PLEASE SEND ME INFORMATION ABOUT THIS PROGRAM

NAME.....
ADDRESS.....
CITY..... STATE..... ZIP.....
TELEPHONE.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

APPROACH THE RUSSIANS

NEW YORK, APRIL 30

BUT WILL THERE, post Libya, be less terrorism, they are asking? This is the point the Europeans are dwelling on. If there is a remote complication in the library stacks, our European critics will find it, and enter it into the argument to reinforce their objections to Mr. Reagan's having taken, finally, some concrete steps to persuade one terrorist ringmaster that killing Americans here & there is not a Good Housekeeping guaranteed safe activity.

Now, on one or two points there can be little argument. Terrorists flow in and out of other countries than Libya. Notably Syria, and Iran. But attacking Syria and Iran is more difficult than attacking Libya, which is relatively exposed. Moreover, ties between the Soviet Union and Syria are pretty intimate, and the seduction of Iran by the Soviet Union proceeds with some diligence. Europeans wonder about the risk of provoking the Soviet Union if we were to universalize our Libyan response. And even some Americans wonder whether the Soviet Union, in protest against our Libyan foray, might not take the excuse to cancel the Summit meeting.

The missing ingredient, at most of our Summit meetings over the past generation, has been a common purpose. When we sit across the table from the Soviets, we are looking for one thing primarily, they for another. We want peace and security, they want advantage. The time surely has come to flush out the official Soviet position on terrorism, and there has never been a brighter moment for just this.

Thirteen years ago, serving in the United Nations, it fell to me to give a couple of speeches in the Third Committee (trained to explore human rights) on the subject of terrorism. The U.S. goal was to bring about universal declarations against terrorism. The trouble would always come when Third World nations would seek to exclude from the category of "terrorism" any move designed to liberate a country from "colonialism" or "neocolonialism." What these countries desired was de jure immunity from prosecution for terrorism if the objective of the terrorist in question was whatever was popular in the Third World. For instance, any act against any Israeli would not, by that reasoning, count as terrorism, because it would be classified as an act against the neocolonialism of Zionism. Any act aimed at any South African, or for that matter at anyone dealing with South Africa, would not be counted as terrorism. By the same line of argument, IRA members would be free to blow up more Mountbattens, and it would not take too much of a historical memory to authorize Mexicans to blow up Californians, or Iroquois to blow up New Yorkers. In short, at the 28th General Assembly of the United Nations, the anti-terrorism movement came down to nothing.

Now, the Soviet Union is always interested in making life complicated for the West, and terrorism does exactly that, estranging us as it has most recently done from even moderates in the Arab world, whose tribal solidarity lines them up with Qaddafi, even as African tribal solidarity lined most of Africa up with Colonel Idi Amin. But the Soviet Union does not believe in free-enterprise terrorism—it is frowned on by Leninist ideology, which classifies it as infantilism. The Narodniki who blew up Czarists on a catch-as-catch-can basis before the Russian Revolution were denounced by the Bolsheviks as undisciplined.

Surely the time has come for the United States to demand that the Soviet Union lay on the table its position on terrorism. How? By agreeing to cooperate in boycotts against any nations that give sanctuary to terrorists. Specifically, Iran, Syria, and Libya.

Why not make this our precondition to a Summit meeting? Summit meetings are designed to enhance the prospects of peace. There is no peace for individuals so long as terrorism is tolerated. Why not stick it to the Soviets and ask them to declare their policy on terrorism, and explore the question whether we can make common cause respecting petit terrorism, before we address the question whether we can make common cause respecting terrorism on a grand, nuclear, saber-rattling scale?

We would have a useful initiative here. And it would be difficult for the Soviets to take a position that backs anarchical terrorism. Or, put the other way, if that is the position they want to take, let's make them take it publicly. □

SURMOUNT CHERNOBYL

NEW YORK, MAY 2

IT TOOK the Soviet Union four days to advise the world (five days to advise its own citizens) that there was a meltdown, and it took somewhere between four and five hours for the U.S. ideologues to seize on Chernobyl as an answer to their prayers. One can only suppose that Jane Fonda looked up at the celestial clouds and thought fleetingly that maybe there is a God there after all. If you pray long and persistently enough, God will give you the China Syndrome. To be sure, He gave it to us in the Soviet Union, but so what? We can rally the troops and have it out for good and all, and rid America of nuclear power.

The assembly mobilized to welcome Chernobyl calls itself the Coalition of Environmental/Safe Energy Organizations. It includes, obviously, the Union of Concerned Scientists, whose concern over the possible success of our Space Shield, which concerns them most of the time, left room for concern over our nuclear electric plants. They seize on Chernobyl as a reason to phase out all the atomic-fuel plants in the United States. They are joined in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

this by some of the conservationist groups, who if they had their way would rip up all transcontinental highways, to protect the peripatetic rights of meandering buffaloes. One expects the Sierra Club nowadays and, alas, the National Audubon Society, to prefer the preservation of the lousewort over the preservation of free people enjoying an industrialized leverage on life. But it is the first time some of us were made aware of the Christic Institute, and, so help me, the very first time one came across something called Blacks against Nukes. One would think that there are enough issues around to divide us without having to worry about why it is that Blacks should have more or less to worry about in the matter of Nukes than Whites or Reds or, for that matter, Mulattoes.

When one thinks back on Three Mile Island and how it succeeded in intimidating an entire post-industrial *démarche*, one is grateful that the trepidations that now stop us dead in our tracks didn't arrest our forefathers. If so, the *Niña*, the *Pinta*, and the *Santa Maria* would have turned around and headed back to Spain if one bo'sun had become seasick. The points distinguishing Chernobyl from nearly all the A-plants in America are visible even to extreme non-scientists. The Soviets used a graphite moderator, and the reactor was without the protective dome we have insisted upon since well before Three Mile Island. By common standards, this is primitive stuff.

It is instructive that on the very day the Soviet nuclear accident was revealed, the presidential commission reported that its searches for the causes of the tragedy of last January are now positively concluded. The *Challenger* was destroyed because of a design failure in the rocket seal and because of the low outdoor temperature. Four months, and we have the answer. The technicians can go back and redesign the seal, and it should be possible to launch again next year. By contrast, no new nuclear-energy plants have even been started since Three Mile Island, never mind the progress in that industry in Europe.

It will be interesting to see how Europe reacts to Chernobyl. Clearly no plant will any longer be tolerated that duplicates the flimsy protective devices of Chernobyl. But clearly the Europeans are not going to stop nuclear energy. They have their mad scientists over there too, but Europeans tend to have an eye out for commercial progress, and ideology tends to be gently but firmly shoved aside when there is a threat to it.

We should reflect seriously on the figures. The Soviet Union already relies on nuclear fuel for 10 per cent of its electricity, and has in mind greatly increasing this figure, not so much because it is running out of oil, as because it likes to sell its oil for hard currency. Japan, which has to import all its sources of energy, derives 25 per cent of its electricity from nuclear power. The truly impressive figure is France's: 65 per cent of French electricity comes from nuclear sources, and even now, France is selling electricity to Great Britain, an island of coal in the North Atlantic.

It is calculated that every American uses per day the same amount of energy as would be expended if each one of us had 99 slaves working for him full-time. Oil and gas, for all that they appear ubiquitous at this moment, are depleting assets. Nuclear power is going to give our grandchildren mechanical leverage on an intractable universe—or else those slaves are going to be emancipated, leaving us all the joys of caveman existence. □

WHAT DID MR. BUSH MEAN?

NEW YORK, MAY 7

THE *New York Times* headline, on April 1, read, "Bush to Seek Saudis' Assistance / In Stabilizing Plunging Oil Prices." The lead sentence, written by Robert D. Hershey Jr., was: "Vice President Bush, outlining a four-nation trip to the Middle East that starts Thursday, said he would tell Saudi Arabia that the protection of American security interests requires action to stabilize the falling price of oil."

This column reported (*NR*, May 9): "It is most awfully perplexing, what has come from George Bush lately in the matter of the price of oil. . . . [The Vice President], the press reported, was resolved on arriving in Saudi Arabia to plead with the sheiks to restrict the production of oil so as to regularize the price . . . The Vice President of the United States oughtn't to find himself pleading with a small foreign power to oblige the American economy by setting a phony price on its product."

And here is a letter from the VP: "I was very disappointed to read your piece . . . You wrote on what 'the press reported'—I wish you would have read what I said, not some press report. I don't mind being castigated by a friend when I go astray but to be blasted for going on a price-fixing mission, for wanting higher prices, etc.—it ain't so!"

Mr. Bush enclosed a Fact Sheet that included everything he had said to the press concerning his mission, as also everything said about that mission by President Reagan. The lead paragraph in the *New York Times* story reflected a pre-flight briefing by Mr. Bush. The entire paragraph read, "Our answer is market, market. Let the market forces work. . . . I happen to believe, and always have, that a strong domestic U.S. industry is in the national-security interests, vital interests, of this country. I can't tell you at what price I think that happens, but, and where it ceases to happen, but I will be making clear that that is in the national interests of the United States." That much of the paragraph was quoted in full by the *Times*. The last sentence was omitted. It reads, "But we're not going there on a price-setting mission, when we ourselves favor market forces."

Now if I were King Solomon, here would be my distribution of blame. 1) The *New York Times* should have quoted that last sentence. If it had done so, the headline writer would have put less emphasis on Mr. Bush's intention to seek Saudi Arabian help in "stabilizing" oil prices. 2) The columnist relied on the *New York Times*'s appraisal of Mr. Bush's mission, and perhaps erred in doing so. 3) Mr. Bush is left with difficulties.

Why? Because he said on two occasions that the market price is the correct price. But he also said that instability in oil prices has an effect on national security. Since an American citizen expects the Vice President to be concerned with national security, it is a reasonable inference to suppose that he will put the requirements of national security ahead of market considerations. After all, every time we buy a cannonball, we are doing that. There is no market value for our SAC base in Omaha: It is the national security that requires it.

Mr. Bush said on April 7, in Dhahran, "In the United States . . . there is almost a euphoria about what the drop in oil prices means to the recovery and to the investment and to the standard of living of people. But there's the other side to it that we can see very clearly indeed, because we are pledged today, as we have been over our life as a nation, to the concept that in the United States, a strong domestic [oil] industry is absolutely essential to the national security of the United States."

One is left perplexed. If it is true that a strong domestic oil industry is absolutely essential to the national security of the United States, and if it is true that the drop in the price of oil is endangering the oil industry, then does it not follow that something needs to be done about it?

Doing "something" about it requires action by Saudi Arabia, or else action in respect of Saudi Arabia. Either Saudi Arabia can be persuaded to restrict production in order to lift the price of oil (what Mr. Bush heatedly says he opposes), or else we can levy a tax on foreign oil, driving up the price by our own motion. In his letter, Mr. Bush writes, ". . . I don't agree with you on the oil import fee . . ."

Okay, but then what does Mr. Bush propose in order to protect the oil industry he tells us is vital to U.S. security?

He does not tell us, which perhaps is why the *New York Times* and this old friend of Mr. Bush are confused. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

Employment Opportunities

NR's MAILROOM NEEDS part-time worker to help out with pickups, deliveries, mailings. Perfect after-school job for student not averse to hard work. Flexible hours. Please call 212-679-7330.

SO YOU WANT to work in politics? Morton Blackwell's Youth Leadership School can train you to work professionally in conservative politics. Our Job Bank helps with placement. Schools throughout the United States. Contact: School Director, Leadership Institute, 8001 Braddock Road, Springfield, Va. 22151.

Situations Wanted

EDITORIAL CARTOONIST seeking position; 7 years' experience; contemporary, thought-provoking style. Portfolio and references, write NR Box 4291.

PRE-LAW USC senior undergraduate seeks summer position with conservative Los Angeles law firm. Call Scott, 213-541-9865.

GRADUATE STUDENT with Japanese, German, Dutch, and Korean language capabilities, well *schooled in political/historical analysis and research*, seeks suitable employment. Summer/permanent. Writing samples, resume, and references available upon request. Write NR Box 4308.

Financial

OLD STOCK CERTIFICATES. Is your certificate valuable? Send photocopy, find out. Researcher gives fast, confidential report. $25. James Smith, Box 75, New York, N.Y. 10014.

THE CORPORATE BUYBACK LETTER. A corporation that voluntarily decides to repurchase a significant portion of its stock is usually a good investment. This monthly publication compiles data and evaluates buyback corporations. For a complimentary copy, write: The Corporate Buyback Letter, Hamilton Management Group, Inc., P.O. Box 8083, Trenton, N.J. 08650.

National Review Accepts . . .

classified advertisements for personal services, items wanted or for sale, jobs sought or available, houses or apartments for sale or rent, and miscellaneous subjects of a comparable nature. Invitations to personal relationships must specify at least 3 interests. National Review does not accept political advertisements of any kind, or advertisements which are solicitations for funds. National Review reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable for whatever reason. Rates per insertion: $1.00 per word, minimum 10 words, plus $2.25 for box number. Frequency discounts: 4 times, 90¢ per word; 6 times, 85¢ per word; 8 times or more, 80¢ per word. Text accompanied by full payment must be received 35 days before cover date. Responses to box numbers will be forwarded. Address Classified Director, National Review, 150 East 35th Street, New York, New York 10016.

PHYSICIAN, age 37, established practice, seeks $95,000 mortgage with 25-year term, flat 10% rate, no pre-payment penalty, with points plus actuals not to exceed $1,000. Appropriate financial data will be supplied to interested lenders on request. Call 419-999-5484, or write NR Box 4300.

Real Estate

DUPLEX LOT—Lake Arrowhead, Calif. Exclusive country club, Villa Estates—gated area adjacent to golf course. Sacrifice $39,000. 213-372-3243.

STONE COTTAGE by the sea in southern Ireland, with 1.5 acres. Sleeps 3, fully furnished. Low priced at £35,000 for quick sale. Call England 01-876-2914 or write NR Box 4288.

Vacation

SUMMER FISHING; beautiful St. Lawrence River, 1,000 Islands. Classics/history teacher, former football coach is your licensed guide. Bass, pike; good fishing, good conversation. Write NR Box 4309.

MEXICO BEACH, FLORIDA. New beachfront home, secluded, sleeps 10. 30 miles from Panama City. One week, $600. 904-229-8183.

CENTRAL KENTUCKY bed and breakfast. Restored slave cabin (sleeps four, bath and a half). George & Nancy Hehr, Route #6, Cynthiana, Ky. 41031. 606-234-4255.

Services

MILK'S CAMP INDUSTRIES is a small, independent Sioux-owned industry. We have very high-quality productivity, but due to technological change we may lose our largest customer. We want to serve customers who need labor-intensive, error-free services such as manufacturing, hand-inspecting, assembling, packaging, and shipping wire harnesses. Cottage work available. Write Box 67, Bonesteel, S.D. 57317.

MONEY FOR COLLEGE. National scholarship matching service. Reliable. Guaranteed. Information packet $1. Change, Dept. N, 4009 Pacific Coast Highway, Torrance, Calif. 90505.

RESEARCH/WRITING. All fields. Confidential. Reasonable rates. Research Service, Box 48862, Niles, Ill. 60648. 312-774-5284.

SCHOLARSHIPS/GRANTS FOR COLLEGE are available. Millions go unclaimed yearly. Receive details by calling 800-USA-1221, ext. 0627.

For Sale

ABYSSINIAN KITTENS. Excellent lineage. C.F.A. registered. $300 each. 607-647-5635.

THE AWARD-WINNING Adam Smith necktie—gold on navy blue or gold on burgundy. $20, postage paid. VISA and MasterCard. The Decatur Shop, One Decatur Place, North Adams, Mich. 49262.

"THE STATUE OF LIBERTY Is Carrying a Torch for Me," "I Put the Statue of Liberty on a Pedestal," and more. High-quality bumper stickers. Show your light-hearted rejoicing during our Liberty Celebration. $1.98 each, Indiana residents add 5% sales tax. Check to: American Potentials, Dept. N6, P.O. Box 5053, Kokomo, Ind. 46902.

IROQUOIS FALSE FACES, $50–$150, request photos. McCoy Imports, Cold Spring Road, Liberty, N.Y. 12745.

100 DIFFERENT political buttons from last 6 presidential elections—$75. I pay mailing. Hudson, 329 30th Avenue, San Francisco, Calif. 94121.

Literary

FOR A FORTHCOMING BOOK on how tragedy affects our relationship with God, those wishing to be interviewed are invited to contact Joshua Berkowitz, P.O. Box 1919, White Plains, N.Y. 10602.

NAVAL, MARITIME, MILITARY BOOKS. Send $1 for catalogue. Kriegsmarine Naval Research, 1 Austin Street, Belleville, N.J. 07109-1943.

OLD BOOKSCOUT locates out-of-print books. Write "Greenmantle," P.O. Box 1324NR, Culpeper, Va. 22701-6324.

OUT-OF-PRINT BOOKFINDER. Send requests to 2035NR Everding, Eureka, Calif. 95501.

PUBLISH YOUR BOOK! Join our successful authors. All subjects invited. Publicity, advertising, beautiful books. Send for fact-filled booklet and free manuscript report. Carlton Press, Dept. NR, 11 West 32nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10001.

Educational Opportunities

BACHELOR'S, MASTER'S, DOCTORATE. Guide to colleges offering nonresidential degree programs through independent home study. Accredited, economical, accelerated programs. Credit given for prior accomplishments and work experience. Free detailed brochure. Write: Dr. John Bear, P.O. Box 11447-NR6, Marina del Rey, Calif. 90295.

Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

C. A. POUSSON:

Central America

If the Contadora process were capable of solving the situation in Central America, there would be a settlement by now. If the Soviet Union and its allies, the Sandinistas, were willing to negotiate, we wouldn't be debating this issue today.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MEDICAL & VETERINARY SCHOOL vacancies in Chilean university. Inquire O'Connor's Medical School Placement, 5041 Cathedral Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20016. 202-686-6922.

CATHOLIC LIBERAL EDUCATION. Thomas Aquinas College offers serious intellectual discipline and a close-knit community of students and teachers. Classics from Aristotle to Einstein replace textbooks; classroom discussions replace lectures; elective system replaced by an integrated, comprehensive study of mathematics, experimental science, language, music, history, literature, philosophy, and theology. Classes do not exceed 20 students. Financial-aid program. Applications from students with previous college studies encouraged. Endorsed by M. Stanton Evans, Russell Kirk, Malcolm Muggeridge. Accredited by Western Association of Schools and Colleges. For information write to: Director of Admissions–NR, Thomas Aquinas College, 10000 North Ojai Road, Santa Paula, Calif. 93060; or call 805-525-4417.

Gourmet

CROISSANTS. Honey-laced, all-butter croissants. Traditional recipe with a twist. Send $2 to M. Thomas at NR Box 4310.

Personal

(NR extends maximum freedom in this column, but NR's maximum freedom may be another man's straitjacket. NR reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable. —Pub.)

22-YEAR-OLD Connecticut female professional seeks friendship with devout Catholic male. Loves classical music, literature, C. S. Lewis, Newman, travel, NYC. Write NR Box 4302.

NORTH JERSEY single "girl," 50. Loves snow, kids, God's world; likes hiking, doing nothing, laughing, learning; would like to share common interests with Catholic man. Write NR Box 4303.

SRI LANKAN MALE, 25, 5'7", engineering technician, enjoys movies, traveling, reading. Anticipates correspondence with sincere marriage-minded American woman. Write NR Box 4307.

WANTED: Mother-in-law with loose strings for fun/friendship by pretty, 36-year-old, independent lively lady, college grad, currently in Pa., with New England roots, who enjoys home-improvement projects, sewing, music, dancing, reading, woodsy walks, deep talks, who just might be right for your 35–45-year-old successful, non-macho, non-smoker son with wit, sense of humor, and trust in your judgment (if only this once) when you show him this ad. Write NR Box 4305.

SOUTHEAST attractive, intelligent, versatile, Catholic woman, 33, interested in history, travel, politics, music, economics, theater, jogging, seeks single Catholic male with similar interests who wishes to explore life's possibilities with an eye toward marriage. Write NR Box 4306.

SAN FRANCISCO COURTLY GENTLEMAN, single and attractive, interested in history, literature, travel, and conservatism, seeks companion. She will be a non-smoking 35–55-year-old with an ardent desire to share our lives and complementary interests. Write NR Box 4287.

ENTREPRENEURIAL WOMAN, 30, constant reader, loves songs, numbers, wings, wheels, water, city, country; seeks male companionship, looking forward to marriage and children. Write NR Box 4275.

WARM, WONDERFUL, WITTY, wow-wow WASP woman, 39 (who worships words, Whigs, woks, walks, wind), wants warm, wonderful, witty, winning, WASP wooer, 30s–40s. Write NR Box 4286.

ATTRACTIVE SINGLE CATHOLIC MANHATTAN professional male, 30; enjoys outdoor sports, especially sailing and bicycling; travel, music, foreign languages, and other intellectual pursuits. Seeks attractive Renaissance woman, 20s, with similar interests and desirous of exploring the Northeast coast together this summer. Photo appreciated. Write NR Box 4304.

NEW YORK STATE BACHELOR, 39, tall, attractive, professional; loves music, Scrabble, sports, sharing ideas. Seeks lady who searches the Bible for her answers and still cherishes old-fashioned romance and marriage. Write NR Box 4284.

I'M 22, A "MUGGERIDGIAN," and reeling from four years spent imbued with the banalities of the modern university. I arrived hoping to encounter great men and great minds; I now leave with a meaningless degree and a longing to explore the religious impulses my professors disdain. Any opportunities, ideas, suggestions, or advice would be welcomed enthusiastically. Write NR Box 4311.

ART LOVERS' NETWORK connects single, art-loving gentlepersons. ALN, P.O. Box 5106-NR, Westport, Conn. 06881.

CONSERVATIVE LOVERS OF CULTURE: Unattached men and women of grace and dignity find others who share similar values, similar tastes in arts and recreation. Write CLC, Suite 307, Box 1765, Paoli, Pa. 19301.

AN INTELLIGENT WAY to meet others. For hobbies, sports, correspondence, friendship, vacations —members nearby and in seventy countries worldwide. Electronic Exchange, P.O. Box 68-N1, Manhattan Beach, Calif. 90266.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS gets the cultured single, widowed, or divorced acquainted. Nationwide. Established 1970—3,000 members. Box 117, Gradyville, Pa. 19039. 215-358-5049.

CLASSICAL MUSIC LOVERS' EXCHANGE. Nationwide link between unattached music lovers. Write CMLE, Box 31, Pelham, N.Y. 10803.

ART LOVERS' EXCHANGE: Unattached fine-arts lovers get acquainted. Nationwide. Write ALX, P.O. Box 265, Bensalem, Pa. 19020.

Miscellaneous

INVENTIONS, IDEAS, TECHNOLOGY wanted. Presentation to industry/national exposition. Call free 800-528-6050. Canada, 800-528-6060, ext. 831.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS. For personal report send sample, age, and $25 to Alice Charlesworth, Box 41, Forest Park, Dayton, Ohio 45405.

AFGHANISTAN—Since 1980 the Afghanistan Relief Committee has been sending medical aid, food, and support for schools to villagers *inside* Afghanistan. ARC is the primary U.S. support source for *Médecins sans Frontières* and others who risk their lives to bring in help. For more information, write to: Afghanistan Relief Committee, Suite 4100, 345 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10154.

NEW CARMEL—FRESH HOPE! Catholic nuns living strict Carmelite rule. Traditional Latin Mass. Prayer/penance for your sins and mine, for Pope and restoration of sanity in the Church. Carmel of the Holy Trinity, RD2, Box 435, Phoenixville, Pa. 19460.

WANT TO LIVE? You can have AIDS and not know it. More than two million Americans are already infected. How will you avoid it? Monthly newsletter. Sample $3. St. Rose Research, Dept. N, 1275 4th Street, Santa Rosa, Calif. 95404.

FREE! A BEAUTIFUL CROSS on a key ring, with a life-saving message from the revelation of Jesus Christ. Send S.A.S.E. to L. Carrozza, P.O. Box 1411, Hightstown, N.J. 08520.

FREE BROWN SCAPULAR and explanation of its benefits to those who wear it, as told by the Mother of God. Send S.A.S.E. to Box 3057, Casper, Wyo. 82602.

NR CLASSIFIED ADS

Rates:
$1.00 per word
$2.25 for NR box number

SPECIAL INTRODUCTORY OFFER!

Pay for two ads—get a third ad FREE. Advance payment (minimum 2 ads)

Enclosed $ _____

Mail to:
Classified Director
National Review
150 East 35th Street
New York, N.Y. 10016

AD COPY:

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRANS-O-GRAM / KEM PUTNEY

DEFINITIONS

A. Noted Indian — 64 125 97 79 16 46

B. Normandy event — 129 109 38 11 138 116 74 60

C. British *philosopher* with the key? — 93 61 144 31 87

D. Business stationery — 104 35 154 70 45 123 58 2 81 24

E. When a business takes this, the less found, the better — 107 118 8 72 92 29 41 137 155

F. Noted shyster prey — 23 146 80 105 152 37 98 52 14

G. Contrive with evil purpose — 22 148 100 6 114 78 140 56 44

H. Ducks — 34 136 142 10 150 96 53

I. Effectiveness — 65 132 120 27 103 7 88 94

J. Exercised the lachrymal system — 115 145 43 95 63 17

K. Tittering sound — 83 9 112 135 39 59

L. The one given incentive — 26 75 110 66 20 133 42 5 147

M. Family branch, so to speak — 117 50 124 141 71 91 108 13

N. Rowdy behavior — 49 101 126 73 36 84 119 55 3 19

O. Vespers time — 48 113 21 127 153 90 67

P. Town in *northern Virginia* — 12 99 85 33 54 122 149 131

Q. First day of Lent (2 words) — 89 28 68 18 51 76 40 143 106 128 151 1

R. City in eastern Virginia — 130 32 4 47 121 86 134 102 25 57 69

S. Saudi oil center — 82 139 30 111 15 77 62

1 Q	2 D	3 N		4 R	5 L		6 G	7 I	8 E	9 K		10 H	11 B
12 P	13 M	14 F	15 S	16 A	17 J		18 Q	19 N	20 L	21 O		22 G	23 F
24 D	25 R		26 L	27 I	28 Q	29 E	30 S	31 C	32 R	33 P		34 H	35 D
	36 N	37 F	38 B	39 K		40 Q	41 E	42 L		43 J	44 G	45 D	46 A
	47 R	48 O	49 N	50 M	51 Q	52 F	53 H		54 P	55 N	56 G		57 R
58 D	59 K	60 B		61 C	62 S	63 J		64 A	65 I	66 L	67 O	68 Q	69 R
	70 D	71 M	72 E		73 N	74 B	75 L	76 Q		77 S	78 G	79 A	
80 F	81 D	82 S		83 K	84 N	85 P	86 R	87 C		88 I	89 Q	90 O	
91 M	92 E	93 C	94 I		95 J	96 H		97 A	98 F	99 P		100C	101N
102R	103I	104D	105F	106Q	107E	108M	109B		110L	111S	112K		113O
114G	115J	116B	117M	118E		119N	120I		121R	122P	123D		124M
125A	126N	127O	128Q	129B	130R	131P		132I	133L	134R	135K	136H	137E
138B		139S	140G	141M		142H	143Q	144C	145J	146F	147L		148G
	149P	150H	151Q	152F	153O	154D	155E						

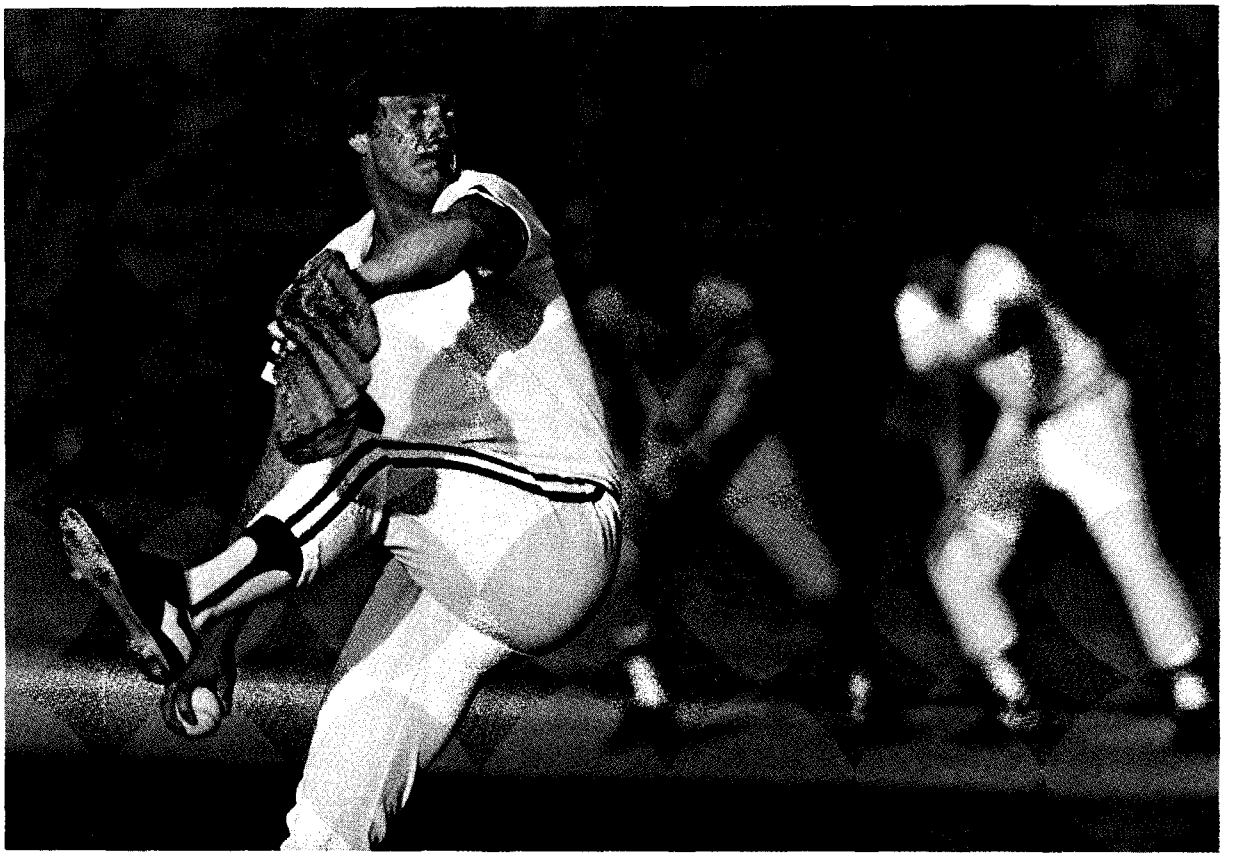
DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words (above) from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 64 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE ART OF EASY CARE PERFORMANCE



VISA®

Visa fabrics by Milliken.
The superior choice for
pro performance and easy care.
With exceptional
dirt and grass stain release.
Cool comfort.
Stay-bright whites and colors.
Durability. Odor release.
With the best of everything
in quality, support, service.
*Visa of Dacron.**
America's Freedom Fabric.

DACRON® DU PONT POLYESTER

CRAFTED WITH PRIDE IN U.S.A.

®Visa is a registered trademark of Milliken & Company for fabrics.
*Dacron is a Du Pont registered trademark.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GIVE HER A DIAMOND TO INFLAME HER SENSES.

Every quality diamond of a carat or more is one of nature's rarest and most exquisite phenomena—with more fire, more sparkle and scintillation.

Each is a visible reflection of you. Unique in all the world, possessing four characteristics that set it apart forever. They are called the 4C's: Cut, Color, Clarity and Carat-weight. These determine the value of a diamond—and to an astonishing degree, the beauty and value of your jewelry.

Your jeweler is the expert where diamonds are concerned. His knowledge can help make the acquisition of a quality diamond of a carat or more the beautiful, rewarding experience it should be.

A diamond is forever.

The ring shown features a quality diamond of 2.03 carats.

A QUALITY DIAMOND OF A CARAT OR MORE.
A FIRE RARELY SEEN.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED